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PRACTICAL RULES

FOR THE

Management

AND

MEDICAL TREATMENT

OF

NEGRO SLAVES,

IN THE

SUGAR COLONIES.

BY A PROFESSIONAL PLANTER.

London:

PRINTED BY J. BARFIELD, WARDOUR STREET,
PRINTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES;

FOR

VERNOR and HOOD, in the POULTRY.

1803.

152460

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CORRIGENDA.

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—— 22, — 12, *for* powers *read* pains.

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From the Slave-trade, the question was extended to slavery itself; and it became a subject of debate whether, in the order of providence, man was ever intended to be a slave. This point would not have been decided,

probably, at the present day, had not the state chymists of France projected a grand experiment, in the course of which they expended three or four millions of their fellow citizens, but by which they were enabled to ascertain, that an enslaved Frenchman, when put into a political crucible, and excited to ebullition, though he might emit some pestilent fumes, yet would he still retain all his fixed elements, and, when cold, turn out as great a slave as ever.

But though this result was conclusive, as to France, where freedom was only an accidental modification, and by no means one of the natural attributes of a Frenchman, yet was it not so as to the privileged inhabitants of this envied country; in whom the generous passion is elementary, and inextinguishable. It thrills in every nerve, and beats in every pulse, higher or lower, as circumstances agitate the fountain from which it flows.

The question, therefore, with us, was not whether white men should be free, but whether negroes should be slaves; and it was worthy of remark, that though most of the tracts, which were written during the progress of this controversy, with a view to the reprobation of slavery, proceeded from the pens of clergymen of different communions, they drew but few of their topics from the scriptures, whither one

might naturally have expected they would have looked, as to the most genuine code of human duties; or if they did look there, they found nothing which militated in the least for their purpose. On the contrary, one reverend divine, has incontestibly proved, that the writers of the Old Testament are expressly in favour of the institution of slavery; and that it hath not been abrogated in any one passage of the New. Certain it is, that in the earlier ages of the world, long after the divine doctrines had been promulgated, the human mind was too dark to entertain any doubts of the rectitude of an institution, which, from the relation that exists between cause and effect, must have been almost coeval with man; and that it hath only been in consequence of the greater expansion of intellect acquired by the lapse of ages, that we are enabled to discern the injustice of one man usurping unlimited rule over another. It appears, therefore, that slavery is prohibited by philosophy, not by theology; and I am doubtful whether the principle, upon which that prohibition is founded, may not, when urged to the extremity to which it may fairly be carried, lead also to the condemnation of many other of the practices of men, which are now deemed perfectly consistent with moral rectitude; for who that denies

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their dominion over their own species, will be so hardy as to dispute their empire over the rest of the animal world? Yet, perhaps, some future cosmopolite may arise, who with a strong appetite for fame, and with the aid of those topics which humanity abundantly supplies, may be disposed to question even the legality of that claim. "Where," may he ask, "is the charter which hath endowed you with so vast a prerogative? In what "archive is it to be found? In the writings of the "inspired? Yes! But the same writings have also "authorised slavery. Moses sanctioned it by his "institutes, and the patriarchs inculcated it by their "example. Is it to be justified by the precedents "of former ages, and the customs of other countries? Yes! but the practice of all ages, and of "almost all the nations in the universe, plead equally in favour of human slavery; for history "scarcely opens her records, ere she exhibits proofs "of the dominion of man over his own race; and "every page, down to the present time, is crowded "with examples of the abasement of one part of "the species to the exaltation of the other. Precedent is, therefore, as much in favour of the "subjugation of men, as of brutes. But the advocates for their oppression say, they are without

" souls, and, therefore, their bodies are at our dis-
" posal. By what means hath that been discovered?
" Hath it been revealed by the knife of the ana-
" tomists? or is it deducible from any premises of
" reason so strong as to exclude doubt? On points
" not susceptible of demonstration, we can only
" reason from analogy, and analogy is in their fa-
" vour; for it is said, that the soul is the principle
" of vitality; but brutes have life, therefore, they
" must possess its necessary essence. But whether
" they have souls or not, certain it is, they have
" bodies sensible to external impressions, and sus-
" ceptible of all those pains by which we are our-
" selves agonised, when violence is done to any of
" our members. In short, all our feelings and
" reasonings, on this subject, ultimately, resolve into
" a duty, not to give pain to any subject which is
" endowed with a capacity to suffer, however dig-
" nified or degraded on the scale of nature: and in
" this principle is involved, as well the condemna-
" tion of the practice of oppressing brutes, as of
" the enslaving of men; for the injuries sustained
" by the invasion of civil rights, are but small, where
" pain is not felt; and where pain is felt, the injury
" may be as great to brutes, as to the human part of
" the creation; yet how flagrantly partial is man!

" his humanities are confined to the narrow circle " of his own race. Their freedom alone is held " sacred and inviolable, whilst all the rest of the " animal world must ply under his yoke, and be " subject, not only to his appetites, but also to his " sports."

To observations so bold, what can be objected? they present truths too palpable to be denied; but custom is more powerful than truth. Morality, though progressive, is yet in her infancy, and ages must elapse, after men have been enlightened in their duties, ere they will be so practically matured in virtue, as to be wrought up to the sublime determination of deposing themselves from the dominion which they have usurped over the brute creation, and remain contented with the barren pre-eminence of their faculties. Horses will continue to carry their riders, and the slavery of negroes will still be permitted, because the convenience of the public will not permit them to emancipate and indemnify; and to emancipate without indemnity, is an idea which has never yet been suggested by any one, that I know of, except the learned author* of some very valuable tracts, who has presented us with the fol-

* Dr. Gregory's Essays Historical and Moral, p. 378.

lowing scale, by which he says, emancipation might easily be graduated.

All negroes above

50	years of age	to be freed immediately.
40	do.	in three years.
30	do.	in seven years.
12	do.	in nine years.

and, all this, without any compensation or equivalent; "because it would be attended with "scarcely any hardship whatever." But though the longest term assigned for the completion of that reform, has already elapsed, I do not find that it has yet been begun. As there appears, therefore, so little disposition in those who rule our affairs, to profit of the ideas of this author, it will not be necessary to combat them here; and I have too great a respect for his abilities to dilate on the ridicule that would attach to so extravagant a proposal; but I believe, were the question to press for discussion, it would not be difficult to prove, that the abolition of slavery would as suddenly extinguish the sugar trade, as if the islands themselves were absorbed into the ocean by a convulsion of the elements. What injury that trade might suffer, by a limitation or total cessation of the import of slaves, or what other ad-

vantages might result from it to counterbalance those injuries, if any, I shall not stop to enquire, but shall content myself with observing that, had it not been for the acquisition of a new, and very extensive field, by the late peace, which gave us Trinidada the political necessity (the only argument by which the commerce in slaves can possibly be justified) would have become daily less urgent, so as to have admitted a hope of its final abolition, at no very distant period. If that period is now protracted, it must be from the policy of the state, which has created new exigencies, and cannot but respect them compatibly with justice, to such of its citizens as are engaged in adventures in that island.

Should such a reform take place, (and I am not interested enough to wish that it may not) it will impose additional duties, to those already existing, upon the Planter, with respect to the care of his slaves; and it is in order to assist him in obviating the consequence, that I presume to impart, in the following sheets, such observations as occured to me on the general treatment of negroes. They were, originally, put together with a view of instructing my manager how to conduct himself in that respect, during my absence, and are now offered to the pub-

lic in a more enlarged form, in the hope of their being more extensively useful.

Should it be asked what my qualifications are for such an undertaking, I may reasonably enough refer to the work itself, which goes forth without any collateral support, but rests entirely on its own merits. If it bespeaks experience, and suggests rules which may be found useful, when applied to practice, it matters but little who or what the author is, provided he should appear not to be unequal to his subject; but if he has presumed, without the requisite information, to obtrude his opinions, he cannot expect to escape censure by a preface, and would therefore abandon every thing, but the hope of exciting the attention of others, who may be possessed of talents more adequate to do justice to the subject.

But that gentlemen may not be deterred from perusing a book, or from practising the precepts contained in it, because they are without the sanction of a name, I beg them to repose under the assurance that mine, if too humble to impart dignity to the work, is not such as would discredit the instruction which it attempts to convey; for my education was originally professional, and within the reach of experience, by more than twenty years

residence in the West Indies, in the direction of a pretty large gang of negroes, to whose preservation, it may be presumed, I was not indifferent, as they were my own, not an inheritance which, by supplying the means of early enjoyment, relaxed industry, and rendered me careless of my charge: but the purchase of effort, the productiveness of which, I knew to depend, in a great measure, on the health of my slaves. To that object, therefore, my attention was principally directed; and a success, if not singular, at least not often exceeded, rewarded my endeavours. To superior morality I lay no claim; but I understood my interest, and, happily, interest and morality were not in that case, as in many others, at variance. I lost very few negroes in comparison with other gentlemen, even of such as were purchased out of Guinea yards, and surprisingly few of the infants born on the estate. So far, therefore, as education, experience, and success warrants, I hold myself not totally incompetent to the subject which I have presumed to treat.

It may be urged, as an objection to this system of management, that the expense attending it would be too great to be defrayed with such a portion of

the produce of the estate as it is consistent with prudence to apply to that object alone.

That the expenses of estates will be considerably larger than at present I admit, because it is proposed that the negroes should be fed and clothed more liberally than they now are, and be more indulged during their indisposition, whence an excess of expense, and an apparent decrease of income; but let it be remembered at the same time, that an expenditure, when judiciously applied, is not a waste, but the investment of a capital with a view to productive return. It will be found so in this case; for, when negroes are so treated, there will be fewer sick than in the common mode of management, and they will certainly be enabled to make much more vigorous efforts when engaged at their labour; for they will be more robust of body, more alert and contented in mind, so that, performing more work, the gross income of the estate, far from being reduced, will necessarily experience a considerable increase. But not only the gross income will be greater, but it may be presumed that fewer negroes will die, and that more will be born, so as to afford a reasonable hope that your number may be kept entire, without any foreign recruits; whence a saving in itself, proba-

bly equivalent to the extraordinaries incurred by the proposed melioration of their treatment, and the balance at the end of the year, so far from being against the Planter, will probably be in his favour: were it, however, otherwise, who would not submit to a small pecuniary loss, for the inappreciable advantage resulting from a mind contented with itself, and conscious of no neglect of duty? As to those who are unfortunately in such a situation, with respect to incumbrance and credit, as to be disabled from supplying their negroes as they ought, it behoves them to consider whether, by the utmost their undue savings can effect, they can possibly be retrieved from their embarrassments, and if they can, they ought seriously to ponder on the consequence by which their relief is to be obtained: that it must be by the blood of their own species—a horrid thought; and if they cannot, how much better would it be for them to surrender at once their property to their creditors, and to repose in the humble though exquisite enjoyment of ease of mind, and a fair name, and to trust to those recommendations for a future subsistence, which, in the West Indies, is never denied to the industrious, while it is frequently conferred on the undeserving.

But let the expense of conducting our estates be

ever so great, it must still be incurred; for, though the entire abolition of the Slave-trade should not take place, yet the restrictions already imposed upon it, and which we have reason to suspect will be aggravated by subsequent statutes, from session to session, will tend, in time, either to operate its virtual extinction, or so greatly to enhance the price of negroes, as to leave them within the reach only of the opulent: of course, we shall be obliged to look more attentively to the preservation of those which we have, and to employ every means to increase their numbers by generation.

Certainly that object has engaged less of our anxiety than it ought to have done. I must be allowed to say so, though without any view to countenance the malignant exaggerations which have gone abroad, and obtained but too easy admission into the minds of many, impressing an opinion of the cruelties of the West Indians towards their slaves. That there have been many instances of severity of all kinds, exceeding the due measure, and therefore bordering on cruelty, is not only probable, but too certain to be denied; for, in what country where there is power, is not power abused? and where there are men, are not cruelties committed? and most, where, from the laxity of the

laws, the human passions exert themselves with little controul. Yet the West-India planters have a powerful motive in their interest to be kind and gentle to their slaves; and, if that motive hath not been found at all times sufficient to restrain the impulses of passion, it certainly does so very generally, and supplies with effect the absence of a better principle. Instances not less numerous than those which are alleged to the prejudice of some Planters might be recorded of others, who, from affluent circumstances, have, by an extreme indulgence of their negroes, amounting to a total solution of discipline, brought themselves to distress and ruin. Indeed, I believe it would be found on inquiry, that the habitude of governing slaves is far from vitiating the mind to the degree which is imagined. Even the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, a writer of much celebrity in the controversy respecting the Slave-trade, and one who first summoned the attention of the public to it, bears a candid testimony in favour of the natives of the country; for, he admits that they are much less severe in their treatment of their slaves, than the strangers who come among them from Europe. The fact is, strangers, on their arrival in the colonies, having to do with a race so different in their dispositions from what they have

been connected with at home, and finding them so much more perverse and vicious, lose their temper, and chastise with severity, expecting, from severity, an effect which it hath never yet been found to produce. Experience soon convinces them of their error, and a longer residence in the islands, by habituating them to the defects of negroes, disposes them to overlook many faults which no discipline can reform. With respect, however, to real humanity, I am persuaded that virtue exists with as great force in a Creole bosom, as in those of any men whatever; but, as situation and extreme provocation have engaged them sometimes to lose sight of their duty, it becomes necessary for the legislators of the island, to interpose more between the master and the slave than they have hitherto done. Indeed, we find they have lately done so, and laws have already been enacted of a very different complexion from those which formerly disgraced our statute-books; yet, having been passed in a hurry, and with a view to silence the clamours for a reform at home, I am afraid they are not so destitute of error as they might have been, if framed more at leisure, and with a deeper contemplation of the subject; for the digesting of a negro code, which observes the due temperament, and while it effica-

obliged to devolve the care of their estates to attornies or managers, who, unfortunately, have an interest not only distinct from, but destructive of that of the proprietors; for, whilst the former have a permanent interest in the preservation of their means of culture, the others have an interest only in their reputation; whilst that flourishes, and it may flourish in an inverse ratio to that of their employers, they are satisfied, and look not to the end of their labours; for the character of a manager is generally deduced from the quantity of produce which he extracts from the estate, though the loss sustained by the mortality of the slaves, in consequence of his undue exertions, is sometimes considerable enough to exhaust the whole amount of its produce, notwithstanding it was as ample as the estate was capable of affording. In such cases, the credit of the crops is appropriated to those who direct the estates, whilst the destruction attending them is charged upon Providence. The public is generally very indulgent in that respect to residents: indeed, they form the public, and determine its voice.

But though it be admitted that they who direct estates are not bound to keep all those alive who are committed to their care, yet, if we cast our eyes

around, and survey the numbers who die in particular situations, we shall have reason to think that, if men cannot be preserved by art, they may be killed by it, and that it frequently is so in the case of negroes, I am firmly convinced; and therefore, without entering further into a remark the truth of which I am sure will be obvious to most of my readers, I shall content myself with observing, that domestic negroes, who undergo no more drudgery than household duties require, and are supplied with competent food and clothing, are as healthful and prolific, and live as long as any other class of people in the West Indies. This fact, if admitted, and I think it will hardly be denied, proves, indisputably, that the greater destruction of field negroes, and their consequent decrease, doth not proceed either from the insalubrity of the climate to African constitutions, or to any defect in the organization of their stamina, but from the vice of regimen, and the operation of causes, which may be successfully resisted by means within the power of every Planter to employ compatibly with his interest; for if it is to be effected only by the prejudice of fortune, every attempt to recommend such a sacrifice, I am sensible, would be nugatory and impertinent.

Absent proprietors, therefore, who look the most anxiously to that object, will, if they are wise, be less solicitous for the momentary increase of their incomes, than for the more solid improvement of their properties, and of course will not consider the mere produce of their estates as the only rule by which they are to decide on the merits of their managers; for it may be too large, if obtained, as I before observed, by the destruction of their negroes: on the contrary, the scarcity of deaths, and the number of births, will afford much more certain indications of good management than that of mere produce can do, unless that be far short of what might reasonably be expected from the season, the subject, and the power employed on its culture.

I know it is commonly said, that the number of negroes on a plantation cannot be kept up by propagation. That assertion is erroneous; for the number may be supported, in all cases, where there are a due proportion of females, and the multiplication of the species is as much an object of desire, as an augmentation of the crops. But it is seldom that the breeding of negroes holds the primary place in our regard, our gangs only increase by generation accidentally, where there are more negroes than are necessary to do the work of the estates, or,

which is the same thing, where, from a laxness of discipline, the work goes undone. In new settlements, where there are a great many negroes of recent importation, as generally is the case, or where the Planter is over anxious to grow rich, which also is generally the case, the number of negroes will diminish, and that very rapidly. But, as it is found that under certain circumstances an increase of negroes doth take place, it should be the aim of every Planter to possess himself of those circumstances, and to conduct his estate on such principles as may reasonably afford him the hope of keeping his number unimpaired; and, when that is done, I believe he will not be found to fall short of his wishes.

It is also an opinion very generally entertained, that slavery is a state of superlative misery. That it is not so desirable as freedom, will, I believe, without difficulty, be admitted; because a slave is subject to an authority that may be exercised in a manner cruel, capricious, or oppressive, from which the sufferer has no means of relieving himself. But, to suppose that it excludes enjoyment, and that misery is necessarily attached to the condition, is an error that may be corrected by any man who has been in the West Indies, and has integrity

enough to make a due report of his observations.

The fact is, whether it be an evil or not, depends entirely on the quality of the master. If he be a good one, the slave is as happy as any peasant in any state, and much happier than in most; but even in the worst case, where the negro is the property of a bad master, though he suffers much more than he ought, yet his lot is infinitely less deplorable than might be imagined; for he does not sublime misery in the laboratory of the imagination. His powers are corporeal only. They are not felt if not applied to the organs of sense; and, let tyranny cease but for a moment to act, and, fortunately, her vexations cannot always be exerted, the slave forgets his oppression, and discovers enjoyments more great than those of an epicure at a banquet. Shakespeare says, "there is nothing good or bad, "but as thinking makes it so;" which is true in the latter part of the proposition only, for the mind aggravates misery, but the body imparts delight. Indulge to satiety his animal appetites, and a negro makes no account of his degradation. He does not speculate, nor when he labours does he murmur, that the rights of men are violated in his bondage.

This view of the species, which applies not only to the condition of slaves, but to every part of our race whose minds, like theirs, are nearly in the state in which nature originally produced them, ought greatly to abate of the horror we are apt to entertain of their sufferings, which we improperly measure by our own feelings: the analogy not being so great as to produce an identity of effect. Happy is it for the inferior orders of men, who ply under the will of others, that it is so. If ignorance has fewer perquisites, it has great exemptions.

That bad masters are not so frequent in the islands as they formerly were, and that the treatment of negroes is much improved within the last twenty years, are truths generally acknowledged, and to which I bear testimony with great pleasure. Prior, indeed, to that period, a Planter might treat his negroes in any manner his caprice or his cruelty dictated, and no one interfered with his proceedings; for either the laws were silent, or, if they spoke, it was only for the oppression of the slave. The offence must have been enormous, that much excited the indignation of society. But now the enactments of law are in favour of their protection, and it is much to be hoped that gentlemen of character and respectability in the different islands

will exert themselves to give effect to their operation, and not suffer them to become nugatory, as colonial statutes are apt to do, by disuse. Without some such exertion on their part, all that has been attempted by the legislators will be of little avail; for, laws cannot execute themselves, and if infracted by the principals of the society, their inferiors will pay but little respect to them.

That a temper favourable to such a purpose is at present very prevalent in the islands, I am well assured; and if there are any who do not wish success to the reform, there are none who are hardy enough actively to obstruct it.

By what means it hath happened, that men have been thus recalled from their former improper habits, to juster and more generous sentiments; whether by the clamour excited at home, or by a more general diffusion of humanity, it matters but little to know, whilst we are assured of the effect. But, as the amelioration of the treatment of slaves long preceded the discussion of the subject in Europe, it is not unfair to suppose, that the reform originated in the colonies, and was spontaneous, and that it resulted from the progress of the human mind, which, as it expands by experience, unfolds

latent duties, that were not before supposed to exist.

The employment of a West-Indian Planter, though exposed to numerous vexations, is yet, in one respect, productive of genuine delight; for there are but few situations in life which present so wide a field for philanthropy to exercise itself in, as that which is afforded by the direction of a gang of negroes, not only compatibly with the interests of fortune, but by means which directly tend to promote it. It may be laid down as a principle, susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that every benefit conferred on the slaves, whether in food, or clothing, or rest, must ultimately terminate in the interest of the owner. A day indulged for a holiday is not lost to labour, as it renovates their powers, and gives them both the inclination and the strength to indemnify you on the succeeding days. Nor is food and clothing, more than nature absolutely demands, to be considered as a waste of expense, as it assuredly turns to beneficial account in one way or other. Indulgences, even extended to a considerable length of time, so as to have a visible effect on the income of the Planter, may yet, in their remote consequences, be economy; as he may look for a reimbursement in the melioration

of his gang, their improvement in health, a smaller loss by death, an augmentation by birth, and a capacity for greater exertions; so that, at the worst, it is only a forbearance of present for future interest. Yet, how many have been ruined by acting on a contrary policy? Too much can scarcely be done for those by whom so much is to be done for us, considered merely as a speculation of profit, independent of the moral obligation, which every man ought to feel, to treat his fellow-creatures with kindness and humanity, for such they are, however abased and degraded. There are few men so very much lost to principle, as not, occasionally, to recognise the force of that duty. To have slaves, (certainly obtained in violation of natural right) to render them miserable, and to shorten their lives by vexations and cruelties of any kind, are crimes for which we must expect to be arraigned at that dread tribunal, to which we must all ultimately repair.

On the contrary, how exquisite is the enjoyment of the benevolent Planter, when employed in superintending the labours of his gang, he finds them healthy, happy, and robust, not appalled, but exhilarated by his presence, laughing, jesting, singing, and giving every other indication of minds content-

ed, and bodies not disproportionately assessed. Accompany him to the hospital, and behold him in the act of administering food, medicine, or consolation, to the afflicted sick, receiving the grateful thanks of wretches, whom his care has redeemed from the gates of death, or survey him, amid a throng of infants, reared and upheld by his fostering hand, wherever he turns, lighting up smiles of satisfaction in the countenances of his slaves, whom he considers as his family, and you find him in the direct road to opulence, at the same time that he is the enjoyment of happiness, far greater than opulence, when possessed, can possibly bestow, the ineffable delight of his own mind, reflected from the happiness which he imparts to others.

Nor is this character, though exalted, by any means imaginary, or even rare, there being a great many persons in the colonies, whose conduct towards their slaves is truly patriarchal, and whose example, if we knew our interests well, we should all of us be anxious to imitate, though it was formerly (and with shame I confess it) too much the practice to stigmatize them with the cold praise, of being well-meaning, but mistaken men; whilst no maxim will be found truer on experience, than that no indulgences can be shewn to your negroes, which they

will not ultimately repay, provided a strict and regular government be maintained over them, which, indeed, is absolutely necessary for their own welfare, as nothing tends more to produce disorder and dissoluteness of manners of every kind, than a lax and negligent discipline. When a man acquits himself so far of his duty, he divests slavery of every thing of misery but the name, and he may sink to his grave with a mind unapprehensive for the consequences of an authority, usurped, but exercised without oppression. It would be too much to expect from him, I think, that he should surrender his legal right over his slaves, and restore them to their liberty, which, in all probability, would be unaccompanied with fruition. To so sublime an effort of virtue, no mortal has yet been found equal, where the interest was large, and poverty the consequence; whence, we may infer, that if it be a crime, it is not in the frailty of the individual, but of the species; and that there is somewhat in the nature of man, (for which, perhaps, he is irresponsible,) that is, invincibly abhorrent from such a sacrifice.

But to proceed from this introduction, which the reader may think has been extended too far, to a summary of the work. It is divided into two parts, the first of which, as its title imports, suggests

rules for the management of negroes in health: the second, for their treatment in sickness; and, in order to direct the eye of the reader to such parts of the subject, as he may, occasionally, wish to consult, I have subdivided each of these heads into chapters.

The first chapter, after discussing the question, whether free men be the proper agents for effecting the labour of West-India estates, delivers some observations on negro slaves.

The second treats on the seasoning of negroes newly imported; and proposes some rules, which, if properly observed, I have reason to think, will obviate the fatal consequences frequently attendant on their change of climate, and of habits.

The third considers the diet of negroes. On this subject, it may, perhaps, be thought, that more pages have been occupied than were really necessary; but, on a close inquiry, I am persuaded, it will be found, that we have been more reprehensible, in that respect, than on most others; and that there remains still much to be mended on that branch of negro economy.

The fourth chapter is employed on their clothing, which not being altogether of so much importance

as the former, has engaged less of my attention.

The fifth is devoted to the subject of lodgings; and though the buildings, which are herein recommended for that purpose, may be deemed a superfluous refinement, I have no doubt, but that, upon trial, more than equivalent advantages will be found to result from them.

The sixth chapter treats on a subject of very great consequence, that of the breeding of negroes; which appears to have been less understood, and worse attended to, than any other part of West-Indian management. Hereafter, there is no doubt but it will force itself upon our notice, either from the impossibility of obtaining new negroes, or from the greatness of their price. To the rules, herein recommended, for the increase of our gangs, by the natural means of procreation, no objection can possibly be made, as they are neither expensive, nor of difficult application.

In the seventh chapter, I have bestowed some thoughts on the labour of negroes, and proposed a method of dividing them into gangs, according to their respective abilities. The subject is certainly of great importance, as the welfare of our negroes,

and the success of our enterprises depend, in a great measure, on the judicious application of our strength.

The eighth treats on their discipline, which, though not severe, ought to be regular. I have ventured to propose the expulsion of the cart-whip from the field, and grounded my recommendation of its disuse on a long experience of its inefficacy.

If, in the ninth chapter I have bestowed fewer reflections on the subject of religion, it is not that I think more lightly of its importance; but I must take the shame of acknowledging, that my brevity hath proceeded from a want of experience, to enable me to speak more largely on that head.

The second part of the work is dedicated to the diseases of negroes, and their medical treatment, Whatever is here advanced, has been the result of successful practice.

An appendix concludes the whole, with a list of drugs necessary for plantation use.

PRACTICAL RULES,

&c. &c.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

On Negro Slaves.

IT has been asserted, with great confidence, by those who were adverse to the Slave-trade, that the work of a West Indian estate might be equally well performed by free men, either white or black, as by slaves.

They who have resided in the islands, either in the management of estates, or in any other capacity, civil or military, will consider this opinion as too extravagant to merit a serious refutation; but, as something is due to well-meaning prejudice, however erroneous, and as prejudice either finds, or

easily makes partizans, it will not be amiss to bestow a few remarks on the proposition.

It seems, in the first place, to have been founded on an assumption that the human frame is precisely the same throughout all the variations of climate, and that man possesses the same physical powers, in whatever part of the world he be situated. Now, nothing can be more at war with experience than such an idea; the fallacy of which may be discovered by the most transient view of nature.

A native of the torrid zone freezes in a temperate climate. He exists indeed, but without enjoyment, until habit is subdued, and time, by familiarizing him to the change, has given him a new constitution. A Greenlander has never been reconciled to the privation of his native snows. He takes no root in a foreign soil, but perishes by the transplantation, though to a more genial latitude. The tone of an European is soon unbraced by the heat of a tropical sun; and if he does not sink under the climate, he exists with very reduced power. Our army returns from the West-Indies, during the late and former wars, evinced this very strongly; whole regiments having been melted away in a few years, in situations not remarkably unhealthy; but in unhealthy situations, such as were found in Saint

Domingo, and Saint Lucia, the business was dispatched in a year or two; and that too, were no exertions more severe than the common discipline of the service were required. How much greater then would not the mortality have been, if they had laboured, as negroes generally do, daily, and in all weathers. I will venture to say, there is not a regiment in the service, that could have resisted the fatigue a twelvemonth, and have had a twentieth part of their number on their legs at the end of that time. Let us hear no more then of white men working, where they have so much difficulty to exist, even without work.

Yet, were Europeans under no corporal disability, arising from the climate, still would they not undergo continued labour, if they were at their own disposal; for, heat not only extinguishes the power, but the will, for exertion. No man in the West Indies, not even a free negro, ever thinks of employing his legs for amusement, where he can get a horse to transport him. Even the exercise necessary for the purpose of health, soon produces lassitude, the indulgence of which is the supreme felicity of life.

In order, therefore, for men to continue in exertion, they must be impelled, either by external

force, or still more imperious want. Cold begets many wants; but those of men, in the warmer latitudes, are comparatively very few, the buildings necessary to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather, being of cheap erection, and their clothing, more for decorum than defence, is still less expensive.

Their necessities, therefore, are principally such as arise from the appetite of hunger, which also is easily and cheaply supplied. If the body does not labour, its waste is but small, and but little is required for its reparation, and that little is obtained without effort, where the soil is in a state of incessant, and almost spontaneous production. It is inconceivable, how small a portion of ground will suffice for the subsistence of an individual: a few square yards will do it, and the labour of one hour, out of the four and twenty, is more than is necessary for its culture. It is obvious then, that in the warmer climates, men are obliged to work but little for their subsistence; therefore, not being under the pressure of necessity, if they forego the ease of a sedentary life, where the body is constantly inclined to indulgence, and voluntarily subject themselves to the pain of labouring, they must be moved by a spirit of luxury, paramount to the luxury of rest, of which we, as yet, have met with

no examples. No recompence whatever could prevail on a free man, so independently circumstanced, to do so great a violence to his feelings, as to lend himself out to the labours of the field, in continuation, from morning until night, and from one day to another, for any great length of time. It is not in human nature, unoppressed by force as by want, so to do. Indeed, it hath been considered as a principle, by those who have looked the most closely to the springs of human action, that they, by whom labour is effected, in every community, are urged more by the fear of evil, than by the hope of good.

It may be contended, in opposition to this opinion, that the practice of eastern India evinces, that intense labour may be performed by free men. It certainly may, where, as in India, there is a surplus population, too numerous to be subsisted by the productions of the soil, unless multiplied by incessant culture. Their numbers create the necessity for which I have been contending, as one of the causes of exertion. When they cease to labour, they begin to starve; yet, even there, men are greatly aided in their efforts by mechanic instruments, and the strength of brutes, auxiliaries much wanting in the West Indies, where, from the

scantiness of their pasture, cattle are scarce, and, from the inequality of the surface, the plough is applicable but to very few estates, and there is little of their agriculture, which is not effected by human hands. In short, it is a melancholy truth, that the sugar colonies, in their present state of slender population, can only be wrought by slaves, or by persons so much at our command, as to be obliged to labour, whether they will or not. How far the end can sanctify the means, is an inquiry not necessary for me here to pursue.

The agents now employed for the cultivation of the sugar colonies, and the only ones which are accessible to us, are either the natives of Africa, or the descendants of those natives, born in the colonies; but, whether the one or the other, they should be such as have been habituated to work from their infancy; for they, who have attained adult age, whether creole domestics, or Africans, before they are applied to the field, seldom become efficient labourers.

Of negro slaves, the creoles, or natives of the West Indies, are, in general, the best, both with respect to the qualities of the mind, and the powers of the body; for they are more hardy and healthy, more docile, more prolific, and susceptible of at-

tachment to the families in which they were reared, which renders them invaluable on a West-India plantation; but their numbers are as yet short of the colony demands, therefore recource is still had to Africa for foreign supplies.

The African negroes, being brought from an extensive range of continent, occupying many degrees of latitude, diversified by soils of unequal fecundity, and influenced by different moral and physical systems, possess great varieties of character; some being addicted to agriculture, some to war, some to the chace, and every other active exertion, whilst others, more supine, content themselves with the spontaneous productions of nature, and pass languid and monotonous lives, equally averse from, and incapable of, toil, and indulging only in those propensities to which nature incites the animal.

The value, therefore, of each of these tribes for the purposes of slavery, must be deduced from the national habit, though it is frequently difficult to ascertain from what country they have been drawn; neither their language, nor their cicatrices, affording certain indications in that respect, as both are acquired by aliens, whether prisoners of war, or the slaves of rapine.

The inhabitants of the gold-coast, being habituated

from infancy to war, the necessary movements of which give flexibility to the muscles, and energy to the mind, are by far the most hardy and robust; yet, bringing with them into slavery lofty ideas of independence, they are dangerous inmates on a West-India plantation, where implicit subjection must necessarily be exacted. The history of Jamaica exhibits very sanguinary examples of that disposition, whereby that island was long kept in a state of alarm and effervescence, and was not, ultimately, composed but with extreme difficulty, and afflicting sacrifices.

In the Windward Islands, though the inhabitants are fully apprised of the superior aptitude of this class of slaves for field labour, they have, until lately, been averse from giving them admittance into their plantations, from an apprehension of their mischievous spirits. The Planters of Tobago, indeed, either in ignorance of that danger, or from an anxiety, at the commencement of their settlements, to possess themselves of such hardy adults, as were most capable of immediate service, purchased largely of the Coromantins or Phantces; in consequence of which, they had soon reason to repent of their imprudence by insurrections, which

greatly retarded the progress of that infant colony, and occasioned a considerable effusion of blood.

For this reason, therefore, and to guard against a return of such fatal disturbances, the colonial legislatures have entrenched themselves within a system of criminal jurisprudence, which has sometimes been enforced with such circumstances of rigour, as have not failed to give great scandal to those who could not be duly sensible of the extent of the necessity. Where slavery is established, and the proportion of slaves out numbers their masters ten to one, terror must operate to keep them in subjection, and terror can only be produced by occasional examples of severity. It is, however, to be hoped, from the reform lately adopted with respect to the treatment of slaves, that, with a combination of vigilance and humanity, such severities will, in future, become unnecessary.

The negroes from Senegal are a handsome race of people, in features resembling the whites, and with bodies tall and well limbed. Many of them converse in the Arabic language, and some are sufficiently instructed even to write it. They are excellent for the care of cattle and horses, and for domestic services; though little qualified for the

ruder labours of the field, to which they never ought to be applied.

The same may be said of the Congos, a handsome race of Africans, generally very black, well limbed, and without disfiguring marks. They captivate the eye by their appearance, and the ear by their humour; though totally unfit for laborious occupations, they make good domestic servants and tradesmen, and should never be purchased with any other view.

The Mandingos also, though much less ferocious than the Minna and Gold-coast negroes, are rendered incapable of laborious exertion, by the productiveness of their soil, which supersedes the necessity of culture. Being reared in the habits of indolence, they have nerveless frames, which easily sink under fatigue, and are very subject to indisposition. But, though unfit for the labours of the field, they may be employed as watchmen, or in the distillery or boiling house.

The Ebbos, and Ebbo-bees, commonly called Mocos, who constitute the greater part of the cargoes carried from the coast of Africa to the British islands, are turbulent, stubborn, and much addicted to suicide; yet they are hardy and susceptible of

labour, the women in particular, who are superior to any other, and very little inferior to the men. If well treated during their seasoning, and not urged with undue rigour, they frequently turn out good slaves. The same may be said of all the other parts from which negroes are brought, as good subjects are frequently found in cargoes of the worst reputation, and bad ones in those of the best. The country, therefore, forms only a presumptive evidence of quality, which may mislead, but is generally found so well supported by experience, as to occasion a variation in the prices of cargoes, of from eight to ten pounds a head.

The kingdom of Gaboon is to be excepted from that rule; for, from thence, a good negro was scarcely ever brought. They are purchased so cheaply on the coast, as to tempt many captains to freight with them; but they generally die, either on the passage, or soon after their arrival in the islands. The debility of their constitutions is astonishing, to those who have considered the analogies of the human frame, which are diversified only by sensible local causes; but the Gaboons are anomalies in nature; and it is to be lamented, that any of them should be brought from Africa, as they may be looked upon as victims to the first purpose of com-

merce, without contributing in the least to its ulterior stages by their labours in agriculture. Indeed, the objection to them is so strong, that they are seldom bought, but by persons ignorant of their defects, or by those who have been deceived by a false declaration of their country. The gentlemen who have attached themselves to the abolition of the Slave trade, would do well to commence their reform by obtaining a law for the suppression of this part of the traffic, which would injure nobody.

The best negroes that we know are the Whidaws and Papaws. The Aradas, and other tribes, from the kingdom of Judda, are said to be still better; but their importation is not very great any where; and, what few there are, pass to the French, and they, indeed, speak very highly of their qualities.

The Whidaws and Papaws are better known to us, though, before the late war, very few even of them were brought to the English islands. From what we now know of them, we are enabled to say, that they cannot be too highly appreciated.

Besides the negroes above particularized, there are, of various other nations, drawn from the interior of that extensive continent, with names unknown to geographers, who are to be met with in almost every cargo that comes from the coast. They

generally pass as of the country nearest to the port at which they were embarked; and, frequently, from their residence there, acquire both the language, and the distinguishing marks. They, therefore, who are desirous of having negroes of a particular country, should carry with them into the Guinea-yards, a sensible negro of that country, who, by interrogating them in their own language, may be able to determine whether they are really what they appear to be; and pains should be taken to discover, whether they have any personal defects, which impair their value, if they do not render them entirely unfit for your purpose. The yaws and ruptures are known by inspection, and other complaints, which are less manifest, such as fits and insanity, may be learned, by inquiring of their shipmates.

I cannot undertake to say, from a variety of considerations affecting the negroes themselves who are produced for sale at the African markets, whether it would be proper to oblige the European traders to confine their purchases to subjects of a certain age; because their is evidence to support the suspicion, that if any of them were to be rejected, and to be left on the hands of the black-dealers, they would be disposed of in a manner more shocking to humanity, than by bringing them to the

sugar colonies, where they have, at least, a chance for life, and of as much happiness as they enjoyed in their own country. With respect to the interest of the colonies, it would certainly be better to admit none above the age of five-and-twenty, for reasons sufficiently obvious.

Of the great number of more advanced adults, some of whom are superanuated and hoary with age, that are now imported into the islands, not one half survive the fourth year of their transportation; and even those who do survive, are soon broken down by the change of climate, and food, and unaccustomed exertion. When they arrive from the coast, they are literally fattened for the market; and being exhibited for sale with all the embellishments that the toilet of an African ship can supply, they easily captivate some inexperienced Planter, who, either misjudging their age, or whose necessities being urgent, lead him to make choice of robust people, without considering that they are at their acme, and will soon be on the decline—a short experience opens his eyes to his mistake; for their strength is very soon exhausted: it disappears with their fat, and, in a few months, if they live so long, they vary so much from their former appearance, by the reproduction of their beards, and their ema-

ciated bodies, that they are scarcely to be known again. They are perverse and indolent, and rarely acquire so much of the language as to be intelligible. They are attacked with chigoes, and harrassed with ulcers, from which they are scarcely recovered, and, in some measure, initiated into the habits of their new life, when old age comes upon them, and they sink into decrepitude without having well known maturity; in which condition, the service they are capable of rendering to an estate, is very inconsiderable indeed.

The consumption of slaves of this description, is so great, as to account for a large part of the immense drafts made annually from the coast of Africa; therefore, if their importation could be prohibited, without endangering the consequences above alluded to, it certainly ought; for, beyond five and twenty is too late, in every point of view, for a negro to quit his old habits and connexions, and to commence an apprenticeship to labour.

From fifteen to twenty-five is an age fit for immediate service, and affords scope for duration; therefore, these are the negroes that ought to be preferred for new settlements; for much will be expected from them, and they are enabled to do

much: but if, in the course of their labour, they contract complaints, and fall off, yet, by repose, and proper treatment, they soon recover.

But the Planter, whose occasions are not very pressing, and who wishes only to secure recruits for the service of a future day, will find it for his interest to buy only small boys and girls, in equal numbers. They can scarcely be too small; for, though they are incapable of doing much work, they will do enough to pay for their maintenance, and they are, comparatively, in little danger of dying; for their juvenile minds entertain no regrets for the loss of their connexions. They acquire the English language with great ease, and improve daily in size, understanding, and capacity for labour, so as to afford a good prospect of their lasting, not only your time, but long after, to render much service to those who are to succeed you.

Having thus proved the necessity of employing negro slaves for the culture of the sugar colonies, and bestowed some remarks on the properties of the different tribes, who are imported for that service, I ought to proceed to another branch of my subject; but I cannot dismiss this without

one remark on the opposition which the motion for limiting the number of slaves, in proportion to the tonnage of ships, encountered in Parliament.

This opposition came from two quarters—the West-India Planters, and the African Merchants. They thought every part of it too sacred to be touched by the finger of Reform. Even its abuses, proven, by the most incontrovertible evidence, to an extent truly shocking to humanity, had their sanction for a continuance, though neither Planter nor Merchant could possibly be ignorant of the great numbers who died on board of over crowded vessels, and the miserable plight of others, when rendered at the ports of their destination.

Happily, however, this opposition was overruled; and the good effects which have resulted from the regulation, have been such, as to convince those who opposed it, as well of their want of policy, as of their inhumanity: For the consequences have been, the saving of fifteen or twenty lives, on an average, of all the ships employed in that trade; whilst the Planters, though they have since given more for their negroes, get better subjects, and, by taking more care of them, grow rich by the reform. The trader's profits

are still greater in proportion; and never was there a period, when the tide of opulence flowed so rapidly into the port of Liverpool, as since its merchants have been limited in the package of their vessels. Though they give Mr. Wilberforce no other thanks, they should thank him for that.

CHAPTER II.

On the seasoning of Negroes.

EXPERIENCE has demonstrated that a great number of the negroes, exported from the coast of Africa to the West-Indies, die within three or four years after their arrival there. To what amount has never been correctly ascertained; but, I believe the most moderate calculation cannot rate the loss at less than one fourth, upon an average. In certain cases, it may not, perhaps, be so great, but in others it is infinitely greater; whole lots, of ten or twenty, having very few survivors at the end of that time.

So great a waste of the species for a purpose merely commercial, though perhaps justifiable enough on those principles which usually govern in matters

of national concern, is certainly not very reconcilable to humanity. Every man, however nearly his interest may be affected by the question, must feel within himself an intimation, that there is something wrong in a business, which is at once so fatal to the human race, and so ruinous to the destroyer. It, therefore, most highly imports us, from every consideration of duty and interest, to inquire whether this mortality be the effect of irresistible causes, or of such as may, with due care, be avoided. That it may be avoided, in a great degree, is a point in which I have long ceased to entertain a doubt.

In order to arrive at the means of effecting so desirable an end, it is first necessary to understand the causes which occasion this mortality. They are various:

1. Diseases produced by the passage.
2. Change of climate.
3. Diet.
4. Labour.
5. Severity.
6. Suicide.

After briefly remarking on each of these causes, I shall proceed to lay down some rules for preventing their effects.

Though the parliamentary regulations which took

place some years ago, with respect to the transportation of slaves, obviated many of the evils of the passage, they still left some, which were not within the reach of their redress.

The change which negroes undergo, from the open air, and an unrestrained indulgence of appetite with respect of food, to the pestilent atmosphere, stagnating between the decks of a Guinea-ship, debarred the free use of their limbs, oppressed with chains, harassed by sea-sickness, and the incessant motions of the vessel; sometimes stinted in provisions, and poisoned with corrupted water, is so great, that they who have experienced a situation any ways resembling it, though in a degree infinitely more tolerable, find greater cause of wonder, that so many do survive the passage, than that so many should miscarry on it. However, under the most favourable circumstances, where few have died, as now is not unfrequently the case, a great many are delivered at the end of the voyage, with indispositions actually existing, or bearing about them the rudiments of disease, which manifest themselves soon after their landing.

The dysentery, which proves so fatal at sea, pursues them on shore, and still continues its ravages there.

The small-pox used to commit very great havoc; but, since the practice of inoculation has become so very general, it is usual to inoculate the whole compliment of slaves on the first appearance of the disorder; so that it completes its progress before they arrive in the islands; though the effects sometimes remain, and prove fatal, long after the eruption has disappeared.

Negroes bring also on shore other disorders of a less serious nature; fevers that vex, but seldom destroy; inflammations of the eyes, venereal complaints, itch, scurvy, yaws, and Guinea worms, all of which are, in general, tractable enough, the yaws excepted, which, when prematurely repelled, as it frequently is, for the purpose of deception, proves incurable by any medicine that can afterwards be administered.

From the scurvy, few are entirely free on their landing; yet, the passage not being a very long one, and their food of a vegetable kind, the disorder seldom shews itself with any great degree of malignity.

To the disorders above enumerated of the body, may be added another, of the mind, which contributes, in some degree, to the mortality soon after their arrival; and that is despondency, produced by

causes scarcely to be guessed at, but certainly less ascribable to the objects which meet their senses on their coming on shore, than to circumstances that occurred before, or on the passage; which work so strongly on their imaginations, as to determine them to quit their existence, though, being disarmed, and surrounded by their companions, they have not an opportunity of executing their purpose until after they are landed.

It appears, therefore, that many negroes are lost by disorders imported with them. If credit is to be given to a document, presented by a commercial house, very largely concerned in that branch of trade, in the island of Jamaica, and transmitted, by the committee of council in that island, to the privy council in England, not less than four and a half per hundred, on the whole importation of negroes, consigned to that house, died in the interval between the arrival of the ships and the sale of the cargoes, which, probably, was not more than twelve or fourteen days. Of course, we may infer, if so many die in that first short period, that the number who die in a few months after they have passed from the hands of the factor, into those of the Planter, cannot be very small.

Indeed, they who have had an opportunity, and have availed themselves of it, to frequent the Guinea-yards, would conclude no less from observing, the great number of emaciated objects that are presented for sale; and yet, these are by no means the worst of the cargo, there being still an assortment in reserve, of what are called the refuse, or the tail, (from their being rejected out of the factor's average), who, being in too deplorable a state to be exhibited with the others, are reserved for sale at the hammer, if they live long enough to be brought to it; for they may be looked upon as being consigned to the grave, whither they are, with very few exceptions, transferred in a short time.

It must also be remarked in the Guinea-yards, that, sometimes the negroes are continually moving to the conveniences placed for them in different places; a pretty sure indication that the flux has been rife among them, and that danger is to be apprehended, as well to those who are apparently in health, as to those who are visibly disordered; for you may be assured, that no art has been left untried, by opium and astringents, to palliate the complaint, and to preserve the credit of the cargo, which would otherwise be injured by the discovery

of the flux being among them. If the negroes are only lean, without giving any indication of the flux, they may be supposed to have suffered by confinement and want of provisions, the effect of which may be more easily repaired.

The climate being so similar between those parts of Africa from whence the negroes are brought, and the West-India islands, might naturally suggest an idea, that no bad consequences would result from their transition from one to the other; however, that is not the case; for bad effects do ensue, even where the temperature is perfectly equal, and we find, from causes difficult to be explained, that somewhat of a seasoning is required to negroes, that are carried from one island to another, nay, even from one estate to another, if it be from the low lands to the mountains. But there is an evident cause why the newly-arrived Guinea negroes should be affected by the change. Heat is congenial to their habits; for they have been reared from infancy in what we should deem an intolerable degree of it; much greater, indeed, than what we ever meet with in the sugar colonies, where the trade wind, sweeping over the Atlantic, comes cooled to the islands, and abates considerably of the power of the sun's rays. The difference, therefore, of heat be-

tween the two countries, notwithstanding their parallel latitudes, is very great. New negroes court the warmest situations they can find. Nothing less intense than actual fire being too hot for them. Hence we see, that when they turn out in the morning, even in the low lands, they embrace their bodies closely with their wrappers, to defend them from the cold. In the mountains, even wrappers are insufficient for that purpose: hence we find, a proportionally greater difficulty in the seasoning of negroes in such situations; and where indeed they are never so thoroughly seasoned, as in the lower plantations, where they have the comfort of a hotter sun.

The effect of a greater degree of cold, particularly when united with moisture, is to close the pores of the skin, and to check the perspiration, which descends in torrents when negroes are in health, and at work; and, in consequence, they are thrown into fluxes and dropsies, two of the worst diseases, and almost the only fatal ones, with which they are afflicted.

Food may produce an unfavourable effect on new negroes, when it is either different, or defective in quality, or when it is deficient in quantity; and

there is frequently an error in one or other of these respects.

It is but little considered what they were accustomed to eat before they come among us; we give them what we have, and, frequently, we have not the means of getting that which may be the most proper for them. New negroes are fed in many of the islands, with corn or rice, or ill-dressed flour, of which, many of them never tasted in their lives in their own country; and, in that case, their bellies are relaxed, and they are thrown into fluxes and dropsies.

Sometimes too the food which we give them is not of a good quality, and that also affects their bowels: but the most frequent error in the feeding of new negroes is the not giving them enough. Having been accustomed in their own country to eat until their stomachs are so full as to contain no more, they ill brook limitation, where the quantity assigned leaves a remnant of appetite unsatisfied. It is wrong to measure their wants by our own; our habits being so different, and our diet more substantial and nutritive than that which they receive. An error in this respect bears particularly hard on new negroes, because they are not formed to habits of temperance, and have

little inclination to learn them, on their arrival among us.

Labour is another, and the most frequent cause of the mortality of new negroes, some of whom have never experienced any considerable portion of it in their own country, and none in the manner in which they are obliged to work in ours. The enuring of them gradually to labour, so that they may undergo it in continuation, is the primary object, and greatest difficulty, in their seasoning; for, to press for sudden and unremitted exertion, is to kill them, which many unfortunately do every year, and suffer the consequence, though they are not fully apprised of the cause.

There is still another circumstance, which has a considerable effect in the destruction of new negroes; and that is severity, consisting of harsh rebukes, threats, and chastisements; which, though they may not be excessive, have a very bad effect, by creating disgust, and exciting terror, which occasions them to run away, and to conceal themselves in unhealthy places, until they fall into diseases, from which they rarely recover, when the mind is broken down into a state of melancholy debility.

To one or other of the above causes, may be referred, most of the deaths which happen among

your new negroes within the first three or four years after their arrival in the islands; or, as it is called, their seasoning, which is generally looked upon as an interval of great danger; and a season of danger it certainly is, as matters are now managed; but, if they were properly conducted through that period, the hazard would be greatly diminished. At present much less attention is bestowed on them than they deserve and require. They arrive on the plantation—some clothing is assigned—they are fed from the pot, or perhaps dispersed among the seasoned negroes, and put to work; if sick, the doctor is sent for, and medicines are prescribed, which are seldom taken, for a new negro is not very tractable; he languishes for some time, then dies, and his death is ascribed to the climate, which has been but little to blame.

Now, the Planter, who with a due regard to his interest, feels also a conscientious desire to aquit himself of his duty, will not think that fulfilled if he be not actively instrumental to their destruction; for if he is passively so, by his neglect, he is equally criminal; but, if he will look a little farther into the treatment of his new negroes, he will have an eye to the circumstances from which their

disorders originate, and endeavour to render them as little hurtful as possible.

As the first danger to be apprehended is from diseases contracted on the passage, and from a sudden transition from the heated atmosphere of the ship, to the colder and less confined air on shore, care should be taken to guard them against the consequences; therefore, as soon as a lot of new negroes are purchased, they should be sent home by short and easy stages, so as not to fatigue them too much; for, having been long crippled by a sedentary position, they do not immediately recover the power of their limbs. If they are conveyed to the plantation in a vehicle, either by land or water, so much the better. Such of them as are sick, should not walk at any rate. Upon their arrival at the estate, (or earlier, if that be distant,) they should be supplied with caps, jackets, blankets, petticoats or trowsers, according to the sex. But, if proper dresses be not ready, they should be furnished with a warm blanket at any rate, until they can be procured. This attention has a double effect, as it counteracts the effect of the climate, and is some gratification to their minds, which are pleased at being clothed. The necessity of clothing, at this

period, is much greater than at any other; as it is then that the change of climate is most felt, particularly, if they arrive early in the year, as they generally do.

The next circumstance to be considered is to provide them with a proper lodging, which should be clean and airy, though not too windy or cold; and, it should be so secured, as not to admit of their going out in the night. The reason of this precaution is obvious; they run less risk of suffering by the injuries of the weather; they are less likely to carry into execution any purpose which they may meditate on their own lives; and, if any of them are afflicted with fluxes, or other disorders, they may be immediately known, as a convenience should be placed in the room, into which they should be directed to ease themselves; and, upon the inspecting of that every morning, you may know whether any of them are disordered in their bowels, as well as the degree and state of their complaints. Indeed, as soon as the negroes are in your possession, if you have not done it before, as in prudence you ought, you will endeavour to find out if any of them are indisposed, and that you will learn rather from others than from themselves, as they are desirous of concealing their

complaints, having been taught by the master of people on board the ship, to believe, that any discovery of their defects, will prevent them from being taken from the vessel, of which, by this time, they have learnt to entertain a sufficient degree of horror, to be anxious to get away from it. If you find that any of them are unwell, you will order them to be removed into a separate apartment, where they may be treated according to the nature of their respective maladies.

Those which are to be apprehended at this period, from their preceding confinement, I have already enumerated, and shall refer to the latter part of this work, where these disorders are particularly considered, for the means of treating them.

If the small-pox be on the island, I have to recommend that you will inoculate them as soon as they are brought home, to avoid the hazard of their taking it in the natural way, from whence great danger is to be apprehended, that might be avoided by the artificial process, which diminishes the danger almost out to nothing. If the cow-pox can any where be procured, that should by all means be preferred to it.

As the negroes have been limited in the quantity of water during the passage, it would be advisable

to continue the restraint for some days after they are landed, and to indulge them in the free use of it by degrees. I indeed, rather mention this as a desirable object, than in the expectation of its being successfully pursued; for, as water will be within their reach it will be difficult to prevail upon them to make a moderate use of it.

The range of a negroes ideas is not very extensive; nevertheless, they are possessed of all those affections which characterise the human race, though in an inferior degree, for their moral feelings are by no means so exquisite as those of white men, who are more cultivated. Long before they arrive at the end of the voyage, by far the greater part of them forget their miseries, and seem as cheerful, and as happy, as if they had no recollection of the past, or any anxiety for the future, receiving their emotions solely from external impressions on their senses. This, however, is not always the case, there being some who are susceptible of deeper reflections, and meditate on their calamities with the anguish and poignancy of civilized men. These are cases which afford ground of suspicion, that they entertain designs on their own lives, and point out the necessity of your using every means in your

power to recal them from that purpose, by kind, soothing, and gentle treatment. Their causes of grief are frequently nothing more than a separation from some friend or relation, who accompanied them on the passage, or some favourite connection formed there, and torn from them in the Guinea-yard, which you should endeavour to restore to them, or, if that cannot be done, you should bring them to a sight of each other, to convince them that they are not separated by a great distance. You should also endeavour to divert their melancholy, by talking to them the few words, which you should make a point of learning, of their language. You should smile upon them, shake them by the hand, give them snuff, and gratify their little wants, for they are particularly attentive to the looks and behaviour of the person into whose hands they fall. At the same time that you are employing every art to reconcile them to their situation, you should be careful not to allow them an opportunity to execute their design, until your endeavours have had time to gain effect; for which reason they are never to be left alone, but a sensible, trusty, confidential negro, (called by the Portuguese, à Ludino,) of their country, who speaks the language, should be devoted entirely to their use. He should attend them day

and night, sleep with them, talk to them, explain the appearances that engage their attention, and amuse them with an encouraging prospect of their future treatment. He should, moreover, have in charge to distribute their meals, and to see that they have as much as they can eat; and, if any dissatisfaction shall arise amongst them, he is to make you acquainted with it, as well as with their indispositions, that early remedies may be applied to remove them; for when new negroes are neglected, if the season of cure is not lost, that becomes much more difficult.

The cold bath, particularly the sea if near at hand, is of great benefit to new negroes, by cleansing the skin, and bracing the body, and rendering it less susceptible of colds; therefore, the negroe who attends them, and whom I shall call their guardian, should see that they make use of it every morning, unless any of them have complaints that forbid it.

By precautions such as these, I am persuaded you will carry your new negroes through the first stage of their seasoning with great safety; and you may promise yourself, that you will not have the affliction of losing any of them by suicide, as most

of the accidents of that kind are to be traced to the neglect of a little humane policy in the beginning.

Notwithstanding your utmost endeavours, you will find your new negroes will be attacked with various small complaints, colds, coughs, sore eyes, purgings, swellings of the legs and thighs, and sometimes of the whole body, which, however, disappear in a few days, without much assistance from medicine, and merely by the regimen above recommended; but, if the complaints be in any degree severe, you will be under the necessity of resorting to medicine.

The diet should be, as near as possible, such as they have been accustomed to in their own country, where yams and plantains generally constitute the principal part of it; but, whatever is given to them, it should be with a liberal hand. When plantains and yams are not to be had in sufficient quantities, the deficiency may be made up by any other kind of food that you give to the pot negroes.

They are almost universally fond of tobacco, either in snuff or for smoking, the pipe being familiar to them from infancy, boys and girls, of ten or twelve years of age, making use of it. This lux-

ury, however well it may be dispensed with in the sequel, should not be denied them in the beginning.

New negroes, like old ones, are much addicted to the use of spirits, which may be allowed occasionally, in small quantities, not pure, but diluted with water into pretty strong grog; for it is the business of the Planter to conciliate them by many compliances with their humour, which may afterwards be with-held.

If the weather be very dry, and it generally is so at the commencement of the season when there is the greatest importation of negroes, they are subject to be attacked with chigoes, which insinuate themselves into every part of the feet, but mostly about the heels and toes, and, if neglected to be taken out, disable them from walking, producing very ill-conditioned ulcers, to which strangers, the greatest favourites of this vermin, are peculiarly subject. To prevent them from accumulating to a dangerous degree, it will be necessary to have their feet examined by a careful negro every day, that they may be removed with the point of a knife; after which, let the part from whence they have been dislodged, as well as the whole foot, be anointed with any greasy substance, which is well known to be

adverse to these vermin. This attention will be indispensible for a considerable time; but it may be discharged by any of the invalids or convalescents, who are confined to the sick house.

As soon as a sore appears on any part of the legs or feet, the negro should be immediately put into the hospital, to prevent it from spreading, as it otherwise would do, and turn out to be very obstinate of cure. It is inconceivable how strong a disposition there is in their habits to ulcerate on the slightest rasure of the skin. The wound festers, inflames, suppurates, and even gangrenes, notwithstanding the utmost endeavour of art to prevent it, and a toe or two are lost, sometimes a leg, and sometimes a life, in consequence of neglect. Nothing can prove more strongly the necessity of early vigilance, than this bad effect resulting from the want of it.

When your new negroes have been a few days on the estate, if you have been attentive to them, a tolerable guess may be made at their dispositions, and how far they may be trusted out of sight. Such of them as are cheerful and lively, as most of them will be, may be ventured to the negro houses, to sleep with the seasoned negroes, many of whom will offer to entertain the small ones, for the services

which they are capable of rendering, either about their houses, or in their grounds; and this may be a very good way of disposing of them, to such negroes as are of good character, for honesty and industry, as they instruct them what they have to do, and are in some measure pledges for their good conduct. To no other than good negroes should they be entrusted.

I have found it a good rule to give employment to new negroes, be it ever so trifling, almost as soon as they come on the plantation; for, by accustoming them to do something, their minds are occupied, and they learn that something is to be done, and are more easily brought to comply with orders than when left to their own disposal for three or four weeks, for they are naturally addicted to a sedentary life, and will lounge on the ground almost the whole day; if suffered so to do. They may, therefore, be put to clean the yard, or to do any little offices about the kitchen, the sick house, or the works.

As soon as they are perfectly recovered from the fatigue and confinement of the voyage, if you have ground to spare for provisions, a certain portion of it should be allotted to each negro, male or female, who is capable of taking care of it, and they should be sent out daily, to cultivate it for their future

support, under the eye of their guardian, who will tell them what to do with it, and how to manage the hoe. In the cropping of their grounds, your assistance will be necessary to supply them with different kinds of seeds, roots, or plants, that they may stand in need of, according to the season of the year, or the circumstances of soil and situation. It will require but a few days to prepare the ground, and to sow and plant as much as will be necessary to serve them, and when that is once done, the same portion of time is sufficient to keep it in order, that is usually allotted to the rest of the gang for that purpose. Thus, at the end of four months, they begin to reap something from the produce of their own industry, and in six or eight more, they will have enough to feed them very abundantly, and some to spare, for the purpose of barter. But, in order to secure a successive supply, the overseer must be directed to examine the grounds, to see that they keep them free from weeds, and that they replant such parts of them as they have already reaped; for negroes are short-sighted and improvident, and look but a little way beyond their present wants; so that, if you leave them to themselves, it is ten to one but they exhaust what they had without thinking of making any provision for a future supply. Upon

the due execution of this business, depends, in a great measure, the welfare of your new negroes; for, nothing contributes more to keep them in health, vigour, and spirits, than an ample supply of country provisions. They who are so circumstanced as to disallow of their assigning ground for them to cultivate, in that way, as many of our Planters in the Windward Islands are, will experience a much greater difficulty in their seasoning, than others who are in possession of that advantage; and, without very liberal expences to repair the deficiency, they will lose a much greater number of them.

After having completed their plantations, some of the men and women will express a desire to have houses of their own, and they should be indulged. If there are none built, some ought to be erected as soon as possible, and they should assist in the construction. In the beginning, one apartment will be enough for each negro, but afterwards, they may be accommodated with a separate house. The little negroes may be dispersed among the old ones.

Being thus admitted to a freehold interest on the estate, it will now be necessary to begin to fulfil the purpose for which they were purchased, and to assimilate them to the gang, for the labour of the

field. In doing this some management will be required; for, at first, they should only be encouraged, not compelled to accompany the weak gang, and, in general, you will find them ready enough to do so, for labour is a novelty; they at first take to it in sport, but their ardour soon abates, and address is requisite to keep them up to it. If any of them should refuse to go to the field when they are required, you will turn them into ridicule, laugh at their indolence, and excite your other negroes to do the same; but, if that has no effect, you may express your displeasure, by with-holding from them some of the indulgencies which you grant to the others, who are more tractable, and who ought to be distinguished by caresses, and some other tokens of your favour; but by no means threaten them, much less have recourse to stripes; which are never to be employed in the beginning, and afterwards only on very pressing occasions. By these means, you will seldom fail of prevailing on your new negroes to attend the field, though, when there, you will find a great difference in their efforts, some doing a great deal, whilst others will do little or nothing. The service of their countryman who was assigned as their guardian, and who has hitherto attended them, must still be continued, not for the

present only, but so much longer, as they continue to labour together, which will be for some weeks. It should be his business to collect them, and to accompany them to the field, when the other negroes go thither; to rebuke them when they do amiss, and to make them sensible of their errors; and, in order to render his ministry more useful, you will find it necessary to invest him with some authority over them, as a driver, but by no means let him have the use of a whip to enforce his commands.

By this address your negroes will be gradually trained to habits of labour and obedience. The work first assigned to them should be light, yet even that, when continued, will press hard, as many of them have never been accustomed to do any whatever in their own country; and it will, probably, induce some, who are not indisposed, to affect illness, whilst others have slight complaints in their joints and shoulders, the mere effect of fatigue. This you must wink at, until by time and repeated efforts, they are formed to a capacity for continued exertion.

At the end of a few weeks, some of the ablest of your new negroes being exalted, in their own opinions, by finding themselves in the possession of a house and land, will begin to think it degrading to eat

from the pot, and will therefore desire an allowance to feed themselves. When that happens to be the case, you may with propriety comply with their wishes, unless you have reason to suppose they will abuse the indulgence, by wasting their provisions, or by selling them for rum. An allowance, equal to their necessities, should be given them two or three times a week, with an iron pot to dress it in, together with a bowl, or calabash, a knife, and a spoon. A lock should also be put on their doors, to secure them from being plundered of their little property by interlopers, and a bedstead, such as will be hereafter described, covered with a Bonana-pad, or matting, which is better, should be allowed them to sleep on. As to the smaller negroes, who are not in a capacity to take care of themselves, they, as I said before, may be distributed among the most sensible and best-disposed of the seasoned negroes, who should be allowed a quantity of provisions every week for their support, provided such negroes, to whom they were assigned, have provision ground and provisions enough of their own; for, if they have not, they should not be permitted to have the feeding of your new negroes, lest they should be tempted to misappropriate the allowance to their own use.

Your confidence should never be so blindly given to any of the negroes, as to induce you to discontinue your attention to those whom you have put under their care. You should examine them frequently, to see that justice is done them; and if you see reason, from their loss of flesh, or any other circumstance in their appearance, to conclude that they who have adopted them are careless of their charge, you must not fail to remove them immediately to the care of another negro, and make those who have misconducted themselves, sensible of your resentment at their neglect; whilst they, who have done better, and been more careful, should be rewarded with three or four dollars at the end of every six and twelve months, for each negro. The expectation of such a recompence will render them much more attentive than they otherwise would be Indeed, you ought to make it a rule, never to lose sight of your new negroes for any length of time, during the first year after their arrival in the island, for if you do, you may depend upon it that your interest will suffer by your neglect. You should question and examine them very often, and trust only to the evidence of your own senses for a faithful report of their progress, and for an assurance that they are not ill treated, either by the white

servants of the plantation, or any of the seasoned negroes.

Your new subjects will not have been long in the field, before they will exhibit a very different appearance from that which they had before they went there. If they have made any extraordinary efforts, as many of them will do from the beginning, they will have grown much thinner. This is the natural consequence of exertion to which they have not been accustomed, and the consequent waste by perspiration, and need not alarm you, if they are otherwise well, and in spirits; but if they are languid, and dispirited, you must indulge them either with a total remission of labour, or with such an abatement of it as circumstances may require, and no longer; for it is, in general, better to keep them in action, though it be in any trifling unproductive employment, than to suffer them to be quite idle; for, by remaining long in the sick-house, sleeping and lounging when they are not sick, they become indolent and torpid, the indulgence of which weakens the body, and disposes to diseases proceeding from relaxation.

As I have before recommended a supply of food, which is to have no other limit than that which their appetites prescribe, I shall take it for granted

that advice has been strictly pursued, and that their decrease of flesh does not arise from scantiness of provisions.

At the same time that your negroes are training to habits of labour, they must also be instructed in those of obedience; but the rein must be tightened upon them by degrees, and not by a sudden check; for ignorance claims great allowances. In general, they acquire submission readily enough, from the example of the rest of your gang, from whom they learn that they are to do what they are ordered; but sometimes you will have to contend with refractory spirits, the subduing of which will demand address and some exercise of patience. The want of this has often been productive of severities, that have ended in the death of the unfortunate objects on whom they were inflicted. To punish a new negro for the breach of a command, the meaning of which, perhaps, he did not comprehend, and to expect him to change all at once from independent agency to passive slavery, without allowing time for the formation of habit, is cruelty in the extreme. Yet, severity is sometimes indispensible, but, in inflicting it, you should be governed by policy, not by passion, and keep it always in memory, that what you do in that way is in violation of a primi-

tive right, which no law of society can ever effectually obliterate. When you are compelled by necessity to punish, you must endeavour to convince the sufferer, and his shipmates, of the criminality of his conduct, and that what you do is with pain and reluctance, and with a view to his benefit. The punishment being administered, you are still to preserve an appearance of resentment, which must subside only when you discover such symptoms of contrition, as may permit you to take him into favour again; until that happens, you must make them sensible of the difference between them and others, who have conducted themselves more to your satisfaction; for, while you frown upon the one, you must encourage the others, by favours, and indulgencies, which may serve the double purpose of intimidating, while it reconciles them to severities, which might otherwise alarm and disgust them, so as to occasion them to leave the plantation, and to run away, several of them together, as new negroes are very apt to do. Should that happen, either from the above, or any other cause, you will not fail to send immediately in pursuit of them, and to bring them back, before they have time to form connections elsewhere, and to convince them of the impossibility of their escaping. When they are brought

back, you must not terrify them by threats, or punish them, unless they have frequently offended; but you must put them under the care of some of your other negroes, and lock them up at noon and at night in the hospital, or some other secure place.

It is not to be concluded, that after negroes have passed one year in the islands, and have acquired some knowledge of the language, and are a little initiated into the practices of the plantation, that they are fully seasoned, and may therefore be safely abandoned to their own efforts, and the common discipline of the gang, without any particular attention from their owner. Such an opinion seems indeed to have prevailed but too frequently; yet I will venture to say, that whoever acts under it, will find himself fatally mistaken; for, where proper care has been taken of them during that period, fewer negroes miscarry in the first year than in any one of the three or four succeeding ones, where the attention of the master has been discontinued, under an idea that it was no longer necessary. In the first year, they get rid of the effects of the passage, and the change of situation; but the result of continued and hard labour, is most felt after a longer

interval, and your eye must be diligently directed to them for some years.

It is impossible to say what time negroes may take in seasoning, so much depending on their respective habits, capacities, and constitutions. Some of them, particularly the males from the Gold-coast, requiring little or none, their native vigour enabling them to encounter the fatigues of the field, without any great inconvenience, from the beginning; whilst others are more tardy in arriving at it, some never do become efficient members of the gang. In general, children and young people are very easily seasoned; negroes beyond five-and-twenty, with great difficulty, many of them never making so great a progress in the language as to speak it intelligibly. However, even these are not to be totally despaired of, time, good treatment, and employment adapted to the temper and faculties of the subject, will frequently improve the most unpromising, so as to bring them to a level with the rest of your gang; but, if that cannot be accomplished, they may still be rendered useful in one way or other; and, if you cannot fit them to the work, you must fit the work to them.

It will not be necessary, I imagine, to remark

more than I have done respecting the different qualities of slaves, and of the choice to be made of them in the Guinea-yard. It is to be supposed, that they are to be bought indiscriminately, the unhealthy as well as the sound; however, it may be observed, that the prudent man, who regards his ease, and is free from the embarrassment of compassion, will buy the best he can get, though he pays the larger price for them. As to those negroes who arrive in a very sickly and emaciated condition, and are deemed refuse, though they may be raised, yet their treatment requiring more care than Planters, whose attention is occupied with greater objects, chuse to bestow on them, they are in general bought by the poorer white inhabitants, or people of their own complexion, whose funds will not bear them out to the price of better negroes. To rear them is frequently done with ease, where food only is required; but, when severely disordered, it is attended with great difficulty; however, I can venture to say, that a medical man, of more science than practice, may purchase refuse negroes on a very advantageous speculation of profit; but, in order to render it so, he must devote a great deal of attention to that object; for he will

have to contend, not only with their diseases, but with their obstinacy, which will frequently reject every remedy that their disorders may require. His patience and anxiety will be exercised to a degree which pecuniary profit alone, unless his want of money be very urgent indeed, will hardly compensate; but if he be a man of feeling, he will reap a pleasure beyond all price, that of having, rescued many miserable objects from the grave, who would, in all probability, soon have gone thither, if they had fallen into hands, who would only have administered the ordinary treatment for their recovery. The particular means which subjects of this description demand for their re-establishment in health, will be pointed out in those chapters assigned to the treatment of the sick; but, after all, it is to be observed that, as these negroes are probably fallen into that condition from defects in their stamina, originally too weak to encounter the fatigues of the voyage, it is not very often that they turn out, in the sequel, very good field negroes, at least, not for a long time, when, after a lapse of years, the infirmities of their constitutions have been corrected.

The above rules, which have been framed from something better than speculation, will, I am con-

vinced, if adopted and carried into execution by others, supply better evidence than I have offered, that the mortality of new negroes, so universally complained of, is much less owing to the change of climate, or any other local causes, than to neglect and mismanagement. From the success which has attended my own efforts in that way, I have been almost tempted to think, that the risk of losing a new negro, is not much greater than that of any other seasoned slave. But, for his security, he must be watched with attention, and treated with kindness. The faults, not only of ignorance, but of obstinacy and vice, must be regarded with indulgence; for good principles are not to be expected to take root in minds untutored in religion, or morality, and good habits are acquired only by very slow degrees; yet they may be superinduced by wise treatment and good examples.

CHAPTER III.

On Diet.

THAT it is, at least, as necessary a man should eat, as that he should work, is a proposition from which few, I think, can withhold their assent; yet, I am afraid this was formerly a speculative truth only, which was not allowed on every occasion to govern our practice, there having been many (and possibly there may still be some) who seemed to think the one productive of profit, whilst the other begets only expence. It is true, indeed, the disbursement is more immediately felt, whilst the advantages which are to result from it, are removed to so great a distance, as to create a doubt, whether they will ever arrive at all. But, I imagine, it will not be impossible, by a due scrutiny into the subject, to demonstrate, that whatever is

expended for the maintenance of your slave, (be it ever so much,) is returned with ample interest, in the greater produce of his labour, which a well fed negro is capable of executing, in proportion to one who is half-starved; and, in his exemption from disease, and its possible consequence, death; for I aver it boldly, melancholy experience having given me occasion to make the remark, that a great number of negroes have perished annually by diseases produced by inanition.

To be convinced of this truth, let us trace the effect of that system, which assigned, for a negroes weekly allowance, six or seven pints of flour, or grain, with as many salt herrings; and it is in vain to conceal what we all know to be true, that in many of the islands they did not give more. With so scanty a pittance, it is indeed possible for the soul and body to be held together a considerable portion of time, provided a man's only business be to live, and his spirits be husbanded with a frugal hand; but if motion short of labour, much more labour itself, and that too, intense, be exacted from him, how is the body to support itself? what is there to enrich and thicken the fluids? what to strengthen the solids, to give energy to the heart, and to invigorate its pulsations? Your negroes may

crawl about with feeble emaciated frames, but they will never possess, under such a regimen, that vigour of mind, and tone of muscles, which the service of the plantation demands. Their attempts to weild the hoe prove abortive, they shrink from their toil, and, being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them into the hospital, whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to the grave.

It may possibly be urged in palliation of this practice, that in cases of such short allowance, as I have mentioned above, negroes do not depend upon that solely for their subsistence, but that they derive considerable aid from little vacant spots on the estate, which they are allowed to cultivate on their own account. Though frequently otherwise, this may sometimes be the case; yet, even there, it is to be observed, that such spots, in the low-land plantations, are capable of producing only for a part of the year, either through the drought of the season, or the sterility of the soil, and when that happens, the negro is again at his short allowance, and, having no honest means of ekeing it out to make it square with the demands of nature, he is compelled to pilfer. His first depredations are directed to canes, which are nearest at hand, and

abound with a sweet and nutritious juice. For the purpose of concealment, he penetrates into the cane-piece, perhaps effects a lodgment there, and destroys ten times as many as he can eat. He next extends his ravages to substances more solid, and robs your poultry yard, then, progressively advancing to matters of more consequence, he lays not only his master, but the whole neighbourhood under contribution. Is there any thing extraordinary in all this? Far from it:—such conduct is perfectly natural,—I was going to say, justifiable; yet, when the delinquent is detected and apprehended, he is severely whipped, and chained, and confined; but, neither chains, nor stripes, nor confinement, can extinguish hunger, it requires other means of gratification, or still unsubdued, the first moment of his release he returns to the same practices, and, dreading a similar punishment on the apprehensions of discovery, he absconds into the canes, the woods, or among the negroes of some distant plantation, where he remains concealed, until, being at length ferretted out by rewards, and retaken, he undergoes a repetition of the same discipline, which co-operating with a scanty nourishment, and with colds, contracted by exposure to the weather during

his desertion, it is ten to one but he falls into a distempered habit, which soon hurries him out of the world. Now, this was set down as a vicious incorrigible subject, and his death is deemed a beneficial release to the estate: but, if we consider the matter more closely, we shall see reason to suspect that the offences of this unfortunate slave did not arise so much from his natural bad disposition, as from the misery of his situation, and the misconduct of his master, who has, in fact, been his murderer, by withholding from him a subsistence equal to the demands of nature; and, by that means, compelling him to practises which, probably, he might never have indulged in otherwise. Negroes do not court a whipping out of any affection which they bear to stripes. From what I have been able to observe, their buttocks are endowed with a sufficient degree of sensibility to feel pain, when subjected to operations of that nature; and I have little doubt, but that a negro would rather eat a good meal, than receive a flogging. The truth is, being reduced to the hard alternative, either of starving or stealing, he embraces the latter only as the least evil of the two, and thus provides for his stomach, at the expence of his posteriors. Some negroes, however,

either of more timorous complexions, who, out of respect to their skins, hold a cart-whip in abhorrence, or who, having a greater faculty of fasting, resist better the impulses of appetite, struggle on with their short fare, until impoverished nature, manifesting itself in the shape of some visible disorder, gives them a title to the sick house, where they are indulged with all the facilities in the world to die. The death of this negro too is set down as a positive benefit to the estate, for he was always puny, and would never have been worth any thing, as the phrase is; and thus the owner never stands in need of consolation for the loss of a slave, who was either weak or wicked, the question being entirely overlooked, whether he might not have been re-established in his health, or reclaimed from his criminal courses, by a more generous treatment. I am persuaded he might, in most cases, I will not say in all, for there are certainly some negroes, as well as white men, of such an original weakness of frame as irresistibly inclines to its speedy dissolution; and others so incorrigibly vicious, as not to be susceptible of reform, either by punishments or indulgencies; but, in general, the best effects may be expected from a milder treatment, and a more liberal allowance of food, for it is food only which replenishes the

streams of life, and invigorates the nerves of labour.

The French, who have been so much celebrated for their better treatment of their slaves, excel us in nothing so much as in the articles of feeding and clothing; for, in some respects, they do not treat them so well, as they punish offences with greater severity, and work them much harder than we do; but then offences occur rarely, and their capacity for labour is much greater, where provisions are so abundantly supplied, as they are in the French islands. I have known a Frenchman, who, with ninety negroes, not all effectives, but the whole compliment of his gang, has made two hundred and twenty hogsheads of sugar in a season, and yet they were neither impaired in health or number at the end of the crop, though they had worked day and night the whole time, a part of Sunday only excepted. Nor is this a singular instance of what has been done by a small force, where well attended to.

When your negroes are fed with an allowance, and have that only to depend upon, you ought not to give less than ten or twelve pints a week to each grown negro, and it would be better to share it out rather in the middle, than at the end of the week;

for, as Sunday is their holiday, and market day, they are apt to carry their allowance to market, and to barter it for rum, or other objects of less use than food.

It is not only necessary to augment the allowance of your negroes, but you should also see to the application of it, for many of them are so unthrifty, that they consume the provision of a week in one half of that time, and trust to chance or legerdemain for their subsistence during the other half. The only way to prevent this is to distribute their food daily, to those who are so inclined. This is an attention that will give you some trouble; but it cannot be dispensed with, if you have a proper regard for the welfare of your negroes. Indeed, no well regulated estate can do without a pot of prepared food of some kind or other. It should be served out, at regular meals, to the sick, the weak, and the orphans, and, by joining the improvident to the list, there can be no very great addition to your trouble.

This pot should be composed so as to be rendered grateful to their palates, and be occasionally varied; consisting sometimes of yams, sometimes of Indian corn, plantains, beans, peas, and the tops of tannies or eddoes, thickened with the addition of a

little farine, or flour, and well seasoned with salt-fish, or herrings, beef, or pork. Of this pot, so savorily composed, that the poor of any country might eat of it with pleasure, the negroes should not be stinted in the quantity, but be allowed to eat as much as they can well dispose of.

As to the qualities of the different kinds of food, which are given for the allowance of negroes, namely, flour, maize, beans, peas, or rice, though it is not uncommon, from the importance of that topic, and the scarcity of others, to make it a frequent subject of conversation, some gentlemen peremptorily deciding in favour of one, and some in favour of another, yet the question is not so easy of solution; and this diversity of opinions is a proof of it; but I think we may be allowed to say, that a man in health may be kept up to the extremity of his plumpness, by almost any kind of food, if taken in due quantity; for the human stomach is a flexible organ, which accommodates itself to, and extracts a nourishment from every thing that can be fairly called eatable. It may not be amiss, however, to bestow a few words on each of those articles.

Were one at liberty to chuse among them, I should certainly give the preference to wheaten

flour, because it is the lightest, the finest, and the most freed from the cortical part of the grain, and it forms a lighter bread than any of the others. It has, moreover, the advantage of being prepared for the stomach in various ways, either as pap, or pudding, dumplin, or bread, and your negroes have but little temptation to eat it undressed. As to the nourishment contained in a given quantity of flour, I believe it will be found to be in proportion to its lightness, that is, its freedom from the bran, which (with deference to the high * authority which pronounced its panegyric in Parliament), certainly contains very little nutritious matter, that, (in the opinion of medical chymistry,) residing in what they call the animal gluten, from its resemblance to that substance, which is produced from the ligaments of animals. Those persons are, therefore, very much mistaken, who, under the notion that all kinds of flour are equally nutritious, or, as the saying is, hearty, and, in expectation of saving three or four shillings in the pound, as many of our economists do, purchase that which is cheapest; such as ship-stuff, for it is a saving effected at the expense of the negroes, who are to be fed with it. Coarse flour,

* Mr. Addington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

being equally wholesome as fine, may, indeed, with great propriety, be used for their food, but never with a view to a saving; for the quantity given should be augmented in proportion to the deterioration of the quality.

Indian corn, or maize, is very deservedly in general use in Barbadoes, Antigua, Nevis, and by some Planters in the other islands. When well ground, sweet, and free from vermin, it is both a cheap and a wholesome diet, as hath been long experienced by the Turks, Moors, and Italians. Indeed, a much larger portion of the human race might be included in this observation, there being reason to think that more are subsisted by it than by wheat, the more favourite production of Europe. It should not, however, be distributed in grain, which negroes, from the want of time, and of the means of separating it into flour, are apt to receive into the stomach imperfectly divided, or softened by boiling, and to render it in a state, which proves that very little nourishment has been extracted from it in its progress through the body; you should therefore give it ready ground, and in that state it is an excellent food, for it admits of a speedy cookery, a circumstance of no small moment to

negroes, who have but little leisure to spare to the preparation of their meals.

Horse beans are given to the negroes on many estates in the Windward Islands, for their allowance. If ground into flour, or bruised in a mill, perhaps as great objection would attend their use; but, if otherwise, they are an execrable food; for, as it would be troublesome for the proprietor to dress daily as many of them as would serve his whole gang, they are given out undressed, and it is left to the negroes to do the best they can with them. Now, beans being of a close and flinty texture, and requiring a great deal of time and cookery to prepare them for the stomach, and your negroes having very little of either to spare, they are swallowed half boiled, or quite raw, in which case they impart about as much nourishment to the body as so many bullets, or substances of a harder nature would do; but the truth is, it must be great distress alone that could induce the negroes to eat them at all, for they are generally sold in the market at half the price they cost, and so go to the feeding of hogs or horses, to whose use they ought originally to have been appropriated.

The same objection will apply, though not in

an equal degree, to peas. Less boiling will do for them; but negroes are not very apt to bestow even the little of which they stand in need. At any rate as negroes, contrary to an opinion which has been erroneously entertained, are generally provided with very bad grinders, a great part of the grain which is used for their diet is swallowed whole, and rendered in the same state, of course it is eaten to little purpose.

I would therefore recommend to gentlemen, who make use of either beans or peas, for the feeding of their negroes, to have them perfectly divided by a mill, or at least broken into a coarse meal, before they are distributed for their allowance. It is obvious, that a machine of much more power than the common hand-mill of the plantation, will be necessary to do the execution required. Wind or water-mills are the best; but, if neither of those movements are to be obtained, one worked by a horse, or mule, will be fully equal to the purpose.

Formerly, rice was in great request in some of the islands, for the plantation allowance, but lately it has fallen into disuse, no less from the advanced price of the commodity, than from the opinion

which prevails of its tendency to produce disorders of the bowels, and dropsical swellings, which remark, so far as I have had an oportunity of judging, is not entirely without foundation. Yet there is reason to think that these effects may be obviated by a little precaution, as they are partly owing to the large quantity of water absorbed during the boiling, which, being received warm into the stomach, may, in some degree, relax that organ, and the whole of the alimentary canal, and thus weaken the general system; it will therefore be necessary to urge the boiling a little farther, and to let the rice be pretty dry before it is taken from the pot for use. But I believe the principal cause of the impoverishing quality of rice, arises from the comparatively small quantity of real nutriment, to the volume of the mass, after being boiled. The eye only is fed by it; for negroes complain that it will not stand in their stomachs, and they have reason for so saying. But, notwithstanding, rice has been generally reprobated in the islands, it is extremely nutritious, for in the east, where religion has proscribed animal food, and where gracility is no beauty, it constitutes almost the only support of the inhabitants; and it has been observed, on the rice

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plantations of Carolina and Georgia, that not only their slaves, but also their poultry and cattle, are uncommonly fat and plump during the harvest. Even in England, observant housewifes have noticed the superior efficacy of rice in fattening their chickens; and no doubt, with due cramming, a negro may be fattened also with it.

As it hath never yet been submitted to experiment, to determine what are the relative proportions of nourishment residing in the above species of grain, until the contrary is ascertained, we may be justified in asserting, that regard being had to the cortical part, or the bran, there is no very essential difference among them; and, though I have ventured an opinion as to which is the most eligible, I have done so only with respect to the facility of their preparation, and the circumstances of negroes.

When the estate, from its extent, or the quality of its soil or situation, will admit of it, certain portions of ground should be allotted to the negroes to plant with provisions, instead of giving them a weekly allowance, and this is undoubtedly the best way of providing for their wants, if they are duly superintended in the culture of their grounds; but, in order to render it so, a sufficient space must be assigned them; and that their respective allotments

may be more easily known by yourself, or your overseers, as well as to prevent any contentions about boundaries, which are but too apt to arise, where they are formed by irregular lines, you should let them intersect each other at right angles, or as nearly so as the surface will admit. The boundaries should also be planted with bonano, or plantain trees, which possess the several advantages of sheltering the provisions from the sun and wind, and of preventing the soil from being washed away; while, at the same time, they contribute largely by their abundant produce, to the food of the negroes.

One afternoon of every week, exclusive of Sundays, must be allowed for the cultivation of their grounds. I should prefer Wednesday or Thursday to any other for that purpose; because, being in the middle of the week, it enables your negroes, when returning from their labour, to bring home as many provisions as will serve them until Sunday, and on Sunday they may stock themselves until the middle of the week, which, where the grounds are remote from the negro houses, is no small advantage. Besides, your negroes being conscious that they are to return to their accustomed work the next morning, will be less apt to stray from the plantation on either of those days, than, if

they had the Saturday, which, being followed by Sunday, affords a long interval for them to misapply, to purposes less useful to themselves and their masters, than the cultivating of their grounds.

It is not enough that you assign grounds to your negroes to plant, but you must see that they labour on them as attentively, as if they were working on your own cane pieces; otherwise you will find them very much neglected, and your negroes as much at a loss for provisions, as if they had no ground at all. For this reason, on the days assigned for cultivating their provisions, as soon as the list has been called after dinner, and the grass thrown, your drivers, accompanied by the overseer, must conduct them to their grounds. None who are capable of labour should be exempted. Upon their arrival there, each negro must repair to his own plantation, your overseer walking round the whole, and occasionally directing his attention from one to the other, particularly to those who stand most in need of it, to see that they are properly employed. Before he leaves the ground, he should make it a point to visit each lot, to be assured that proper use has been made of their time, that they may be praised or rebuked, according to their respective demerits. It is unnecessary to admonish you, that,

even after this precaution, to secure their attendance, you are not to trust implicitly to the information of your overseer. You must yourself acquire a knowledge of the several allotments, and their respective owners, and visit them, from time to time, to ascertain the truth of his report, by the evidence of your own senses, and to see that he has properly discharged his duty; for there is no part of it which he is more apt to neglect than that, considering it as less a part of his business than any other, though, in my opinion, nothing can be more essential to the health and welfare of your gang, than an abundant supply of country provisions, which are to be obtained only by a diligent culture of their grounds.

In order to enable yourself to discover to whom the several allotments belong, a stake should be driven into each of them, with a number, or a name, to indicate their respective proprietors, from which you may inform yourself, at a glance, who have been negligent of their interests, that they may be treated accordingly.

As negroes are the mere creatures of habit, acting more from its impulses, than from any determination of the mind, you will find, as they become more accustomed to the labouring of their grounds, and

have felt the advantages of a surplus produce, that they will stand less in need of your attention, and that of the overseer, though he should never be allowed to omit his attendance, for some of them will always continue to demand it. From a natural indolence, or carelessness of disposition, notwithstanding your utmost care, they will neglect their plantations, and cease to labour longer than your eye is upon them. These must be managed in a different way; for, as they cannot be trusted to their own efforts, you should allot no ground to their separate use, but work them altogether on a piece assigned for the use of the pot-gang, under the care of a driver, who is to be responsible for the proper use of their time; and you must take the charge upon yourself of provisioning them, either weekly or daily, from the pot, as you find they may require. This disgrace may, in time, have a good effect, as, in order to escape it, they will promise greater attention in future, and petition to be put on the footing of the other negroes. You may try them upon their words, and perhaps you will find that they fulfil their engagements.

I say nothing of Sunday, that being a day of rest, or recreation, they have a right to dispose of it as they think proper; but, as they cannot be more

innocently or beneficially employed than on their grounds, every encouragement should be held out to them to apply their time in that way, by slight rewards, or honorary distinctions, which, if conferred upon such as comply with your wishes, may induce others to follow their example.

In the labouring of your negro grounds, it will be incumbent on you to assist those who stand in need of it, with plants or seeds. You know their imprudence, and their poverty, that they have reserved nothing from the former season for the service of the present day, and that they have not the means of purchasing. Without your interposition, therefore, their grounds would go uncropped. Under these circumstances, when the time for planting arrives, you must supply them with yam seed, Indian corn, tannies, eddos, and potato plants, taking care to minute the quantity lent to each, that they may repay you during the crop; and this you must strictly exact, lest the assistance you afford them might have a bad effect on the rest of your negroes, and engage them to be less provident of their stores, in confidence of your support.

To insure a successive supply of provisions, you

should take care that your negroes do not crop with one sort only, which they are apt to do, but with various kinds. Yams are so excellent a root, that they should never fail to have a considerable piece of them. Indeed, their own appetites for that root is generally motive sufficient to induce them to plant, where they have ground and seed enough, which frequently is not the case, at the season when seeds are wanting; for this reason, you must stand as a second providence to them, and, by your prudence, supply their want of it, by preserving a store of yam seeds when their crops are dug in. If yam seeds are not to be had in sufficient quantities, and the season be wet, as it frequently is when the time of planting arrives, I imagine the strings, or shoots of the old yams, which would otherwise be thrown away, may be used to advantage, by being planted, instead of the seed, as hath been practised in England with respect to potatoes, which, cultivated in this way, have been found to yield abundant crops. Indeed, I cannot say that I recommend this practice from any experience of my own, but from an idea that the result will be the same, there being so great a resemblance between the shoots of the two kinds of root; at least, it is worth a trial, as experiment only can decide the fact.

As fast as the negroes draw their provisions out of the ground, they must continue to replant more; and use every means, by cross trenches and banks, to prevent the vegetable mould from washing away, as it will in some degree, by every heavy shower.

Your negroes will plant to very little purpose, if they are to be deprived of the fruits of their labour by the depredations of others. To protect them from such injuries, which are a great discouragement to industry, it is necessary that your negro grounds should be well watched by some of the most trusty negroes of your estate. But, as the most trusty are frequently negligent, and as some whom you may deem honest, though they may guard the provisions from the robbery of others, will yet rob for themselves, you must, in order to insure their vigilance and fidelity, have an eye to their own grounds, to see that they are properly wrought, and very largely stocked with provisions, as they very well may be, having so many hours to devote to that purpose.

This precaution observed, you will obviate the necessity of their stealing; and if they suffer others to steal, upon the complaint being duly proved, the watchman must be mulcted of his provisions, to

indemnify the sufferers for the losses which they have sustained.

By these means, if pursued with due care and attention, your negroes will be plentifully supplied with provisions. On mountain estates, situated nearer to the clouds, and receiving more of their contents, they will have them throughout the year; but, in the lower lands, vegetation being, in a great measure, arrested during the dry season, the negro grounds will produce but little for a considerable time, still less in June, July, and August, than in the months immediately preceding, though much drier; the stock on the ground, or that which had been gathered from it, having lasted to that period. Upon this occasion they will stand in need of an allowance, which should be dispensed in greater or lesser quantities, according to the respective wants, until their grounds begin to produce again. This has been frequently omitted, and negroes have suffered severely for their neglect. As a reserve for this particular purpose, as well as for the ordinary use of the pot-gang, as they are called, or the negroes who are fed from the pot, it will be advisable to have some acres of land planted annually with yams for your own store, the quantity to be determined by the number of your negroes. If you have

spare land, so much the better; if not, some of your cane-pieces must be appropriated to that use. Many have objected to this, from an apprehension of impoverishing the soil; but, as no consideration whatever should be suffered to outweigh the regard that is due to the health of your slaves, such a sacrifice ought not to be attended to; though, indeed, provided the land planted in this way be effectually moved before the sets are put into the ground, as well as after the yams are drawn from it, there is reason to think, that the extraordinary tillage will, in a great measure, compensate for the injury which the soil may sustain from the privation of its vegetative nutriment. If it be of a very stiff texture, I imagine it will be abundantly compensated.

Yams, packed in a dry room between layers of ashes, and occasionally divested of their shoots, when they begin to vegetate, as they will do in June, or earlier, may be preserved in tolerable perfection until the end of October.

There is another produce of the plantation as useful for the feeding of negroes as yams, and that is the fruit of the plantain-tree. The world scarcely possesses a vegetable of greater utility, as they are excellent, whether eaten ripe, or green, or raw,

roasted or boiled; but it is unnecessary to dilate on their virtues to those to whom they are so well known. I cannot, however, conceal my surprise, that, being so easily cultivated, the watchmen who guard their preservation until they attain some degree of maturity, affording all that is necessary to a very large plantation, we should find any spots which are not planted with them, and yet there are many which are adapted to that produce, and no other, (for they grow on the steepest hills, and thrive luxuriantly in gullies, which are numerous on mountain estates,) which remain unoccupied. As much almost might be said of the bonanos, were not negroes less fond of them; but of the plantains they are never tired, and would subsist almost entirely upon them.

The time is at length arrived, when, by the bounty of government, certainly less frequently exerted for the benefit of the sugar colonies, than their importance entitles them to, and their necessities require, we find ourselves in possession of a plant, which, by the well attested reports of navigators, already in part confirmed by our own experience, bids fair to administer more effectually to the support of our negroes, than any of those above enumerated; and that is the bread-fruit tree. This benefit was ob-

tained for us, at the instance, and upon the recommendation of that excellent * person who presides in the chair of the Royal Society, and whose ardour for the advancement of natural science, withdrew him, at an early period of his life, from the enjoyment of sedentary ease, and the comforts attendant on a princely fortune, to perilous adventures, and the circumnavigation of the globe, in directions before unexplored by human curiosity. It would be the deepest ingratitude, not to recognise his claim to be enrolled the foremost among the benefactors to the colonies, as well by that service, as by others, in enriching them with the most valuable exotics, to the procuring of which, his attention has been incessantly directed for many years.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, notwithstanding the bread fruit tree has been extensively cultivated throughout all the islands, and in some of them has produced very abundantly, yet the fruit does not appear to be so highly appreciated as it ought, and undoubtedly will be at a future period; for, though there is nothing in its flavour to recommend it particularly to the palate, it possesses substance and nourishment beyond any thing we know,

* Sir Joseph Banks.

the yam excepted, and will be found, on further trial, a most precious acquisition to our negroes. Some of the trees should be planted in the vicinity of the negro houses, but they are too large perhaps to be admitted among them, unless greater spaces be allotted than is usually assigned for that purpose. They possess a great advantage over the plantain-tree, in resisting the force of all gales short of hurricanes, which nothing can resist, whilst the plantains yield to winds of ordinary violence, and then there is a cessation of their produce for four or five months, to the great distress and injury of the negroes, who depend much upon them. It is exceedingly to be lamented, that this kind of tree is so subject to suffer by accidents of such a nature.

The cassava root claims the next place in our attention. There are great varieties of it which produce in all situations and soils, but abundantly so, where it has any remains of fertility, and the ground is moistened by occasional showers. The usual way of preparing the root among the English is, after grating it into a pulp, and expelling the juice by pressure, to bake it into thin cakes; but the French, who certainly understand the culinary art better than we do, prepare it in a different way. They throw the meal into a broad and shallow copper

pan, called à platine, which is fixed in brick-work over a fire, and it is kept from adhering to the pan, or from collecting into large lumps, by the agitation of a wooden paddle, or spatula, until it be thoroughly dried, when it is called farine, and constitutes not only a principal part of the diet of their negroes, but serves also as bread to a great many of the white inhabitants. Negroes unaccustomed to it have their bellies relaxed by its use, but with others it agrees very well, though I much doubt whether it be altogether so wholesome as some of the kinds of bread above mentioned. From the milky juice of the cassava, when freed from its grosser feculencies, an impalpable powder is deposited, which possesses, in some degree, the qualities of the oriental salep, and is frequently employed by our economists for the same purpose, which it is well calculated to answer; being of a mucilaginous nature, it affords a soft and smooth lining to the bowels in the flux, and, with the addition of a little red-port wine, is a good restorative to convalescents from that disease. A particular preparation of* the cassava, of which I know not that we as yet possess the secret, is sold in the shops under the name of tapioca.

* Jatropha.

The subject of diet cannot be dismissed without a few remarks on that of hurricanes, the effects of which, occasion such a temporary scarcity of provisions, as approaches nearly to a famine. In the islands which have been visited by this scourge, every production is swept from the face of vegetable nature, and that which the earth in part conceals from its researches, is yet so much injured, as to be capable of being preserved only for a very short time. The consequences being so fatal whenever they do happen, and as they may happen any year, though, fortunately, the chances are greatly in favour of the planter: a prudent man ought never to be without a resource adapted to the emergency, which should be provided at the approach of the hurricane season. Nothing is better for that purpose than the Indian corn of America, because, if wanted, it will afford a good food to the negroes, and, if not wanted for them, it may be given instead of oats, to the horses and mules, of which a great quantity would otherwise be consumed, so that no loss whatever can possibly ensue from the salutary precaution. Some barrels of flour also should be kept at all times for the use of the sick and infant negroes, whose mothers should receive a weekly allowance of it.

The substances above-mentioned, together with the potato root, and the roots of tannies, and eddos, constitute the principal part of the ordinary nourishment of negroes, though, in their necessities, they have recourse to others less substantial, such as messenby, calalue, and tannia tops, of which they make soup, not unpleasant of flavour.

As to the animal part of their food, the portion is small indeed, consisting of salt-fish or herrings. Though a great deal of nourishment cannot be supposed to reside in either of them, yet, as they are much coveted by negroes, and impart a relish to their vegetables, they cannot be dispensed with. I am not, however, so anxious for the augmentation of that, as of the other parts of their diet. Eight or nine herrings, and three or four pounds of salt fish a week, may answer the only good purpose it is capable of, well enough; but I would strongly urge a more generous supply in other respects; for, to conclude what I have to say on this subject, with a maxim which nobody can contest,—the real strength of an estate does not consist so much in the total number of negroes, as in the effective number. Fifty pair of vigorous arms will perform more labour than a hundred pair of feeble ones; but the energy

and vigour of an arm depends, next to natural temperament, upon an ample supply of wholesome food; therefore, the planter, who would wish to have his work done with pleasure to himself, and with ease to his slaves, must not abridge them, as is too frequently the case. He must feed them almost to satiety. Rather than not do so, it would be for his interest to reduce the number of his negroes, that he may feed the remainder more amply.

As to the fluid part of negro diet but little can be said on that head, as it must consist almost entirely of water; fortunately, the salubrity of that element is equal to its abundance. Occasionally, however, during the wet weather, and while the negroes are engaged on very laborious work, such as holing, they may be indulged with the addition of a little rum to their water, either with or without molasses to sweeten it.

It has been observed that all uncivilized nations, though reared in the habit of water-drinking, soon acquire a relish for spirituous potations; and as they are restrained, neither by the fear of shame, nor the dread of danger, they indulge in the use of them to excess, whenever they are within their reach.

This observation applies, with peculiar propriety,

to negroes; and it is to be lamented, that more effectual means have not been employed by our colonial legislatures, to prevent their easy access to rum. They have at present two ways of obtaining it, that is, by theft or by purchase. A due attention to the distillery, assisted by good locks and bars, will in a great measure prevent the one, whilst wholesome laws might effectually put a stop to the other. Not such laws as have heretofore been enacted for that purpose, which, by requiring the evidence of whites to convict delinquents, have turned out mere dead letters, but by a law that will be adequate to the remedy proposed. Admit the evidence of slaves, and you will have no further occasion to complain of their drunkenness; and why the testimony of a slave should not be admitted in this instance, and in many others, I acknowledge I can see no good reason; for though the turpitude of mind incidental to the condition of slaves, and their ignorance of the obligations of an oath, may indeed weaken their credibility, yet, as they are daily admitted to testify against those of their own complexion, and to determine our judgments in the more momentous concern of life and death, I think they may, at least with as much propriety, be allowed in proof of transgressions, whose penalties amount

only to a fine, even against ours. Negroes, it is true, are very great liars, and frequently so hardened in their effrontery, as to deny, with an imposing air of innocence, offences, in the commission of which you have yourself detected them; but these are defensive lies, uttered merely to justify themselves, and in the hope of escaping punishment, by creating a doubt of their guilt. It is very uncommon (I may say, a thing unheard of,) for them to carry their impudence so far as to criminate a white person, who is really innocent.

I am aware that a reform of this nature will meet with many opposers, some, because it trenches upon established principles, some, because they affect to believe that the negroes will get rum in another way, if the Planters do not sell it to them; whilst others urge the impossibility of obtaining silver for their domestic expences, by any other means than by the retailing of their rum. But, whatever may be the avowed motives for the continuance of this practice, certain it is, that avarice is one of the real ones; for the rum is not only sold a shilling or two per gallon dearer; but it is also diluted with water; so that negroes are both debauched and cheated into the bargain; but, after all, it is a paltry gain when

compared to the effects that ensue from its destructive use.

The importance of the subject, and the necessity of providing a remedy for a grievance of so great magnitude, has detained me longer on this topic than I could have wished; but I cannot even now dismiss it without observing farther that a great portion of the crimes and irregularities of negroes, and not a small one of their diseases, arise from the abuse of spirits; and that it is from the Planters themselves from whom they procure them. I have known some small ones who retail their whole crops in that way. The Saint Vincent's code presents the only law that I can find in the colonial statute books, which hath professed to reform the evil, on such a principle as I have suggested; but even that doth not go far enough; and, upon inquiry, I find that its penalties are very seldom enforced.

CHAPTER IV.

On Clothing.

IN the northern latitudes, where the cares of men are in perpetual exertion to counteract the rigours of the climate, clothing is an object no less important than food itself, as life cannot exist a day without it; but in the warmer latitudes of the torrid zone, where the practice of negro slavery principally obtains, but little is the comparative demand; yet, even there, something more is necessary, for the purposes of decency and of health, than has been usually allotted to that object; for though the vicissitudes of weather, with respect to heat and cold, are by no means severe, they are sufficiently so in the circumstances of wind and moisture, to demand

a better occasional safeguard for the human body, than what nature has provided for its protection.

The customary allowance of negro clothing has generally been two yards and a quarter, or two yards and a half, of a coarse woollen stuff, known in many of the islands by the name of bamboo, to grown negroes, and less, in proportion, to smaller ones. If they had more, it was usually purchased with their own money, which many of them were very well able to effect. Within these few years, however, a more liberal treatment hath begun to prevail, in that respect, as in others, with regard to negroes, though there are at present but too many who adhere to their former penurious regimen; and no saving, surely, can be more ill-advised, for economy is one thing, and parsimony another: whilst the one, with a view to future interest, not only admits of, but exacts disbursement; the other counteracts its own end, and, by retaining shillings with tenacious gripe, it loses pounds, or, which is the same thing, an opportunity of acquiring them.

This observation cannot be more strongly exemplified than in the present case; for negroes who have only a bamboo, such as I have described, are under the necessity of making use of it on all occasions. During the day, when the sun shines with

intemperate ardour, it is wrapped about their loins, which it relaxes and enfeebles. When the rain falls, it is extended over their heads, and the upper part of their bodies, where, like a sponge, it imbibes, and retains the moisture the greater part of the day. At night, when the negroes retire from labour to their repose, the same bamboo, retaining the contents which it had absorbed in the course of the day, is resorted to as a defence against the cold, or the attacks of the musquitoes, and covers them when they sleep. From such a situation, we may naturally infer, that the health of your negroes will suffer, and that the next morning will introduce them to the hospital with either fevers or fluxes. Is not this the most natural way of accounting for the numerous list of sick with which you are presented every morning during the wet and colder season? Fluxes are the frequent consequences, and what they are, we all know as well as that negroes are more afflicted with them than the whites, an effect undoubtedly owing to the want of something to defend them from the inclemencies of the air during the hours of sleep. A night covering is very requisite in certain seasons and situations; for fluxes are more common, as well as more fatal, in the mountains

than in the low lands, in the cold and rainy months, than when the air is warmer and drier.

That negroes are particularly sensible of the cold, and impatient under a very moderate degree of it, we may be convinced, by observing them when they crawl out of their huts in the morning, torpid and shivering, and incapable of exertion, until warmed and invigorated by the influence of the ascending sun. It is then that they stand peculiarly in need of clothing, and a warm jacket is less an object of luxury than of prime necessity.

It is difficult to discover the origin of many of the complaints with which the human body is afflicted; sometimes from the causes not being evident, and sometimes from the effect not being so immediately consequent to the cause, as to enable us to discover their relation; but there is the greatest reason to believe, that many diseases are induced, and of course some lives lost, by a neglect of the article of clothing; and yet the loss of a few days labour of each negro, in the course of the year, is more than equivalent to the expense necessary to clothe them as properly as their occasions require; but should a single one perish from the consequence of this neglect, precious as negroes now are, and still more

precious as they will daily become, more would be sacrificed than would clothe a pretty large gang.

From these considerations, it must be evident, that the clothing of negroes is not a point of so much indifference as hath been generally imagined, and that something more ought to be done for them in that respect than usually is done, not in the way of ornament, but for substantial utility. In proposing an additional clothing, therefore, I am far from meaning to recommend objects of mere shew, unless to particular negroes, as marks of distinction, or as the rewards of good conduct. They may please the imagination, and flatter their vanity, but they are by no means essential, and may be indulged or withheld, according to the fancy of the master.

The bamboo, which is now in such general use, may be discontinued altogether, as it has length, with little breadth, and of course is but ill-adapted to cover the body, either in the day or night, unless doubled and united by a seam, when it is too short. Instead of it, I would recommend a pair of small warm white blankets, of low price, or one large one, which, not being permitted to be taken out of the house, and only used there for bedding, will serve for three or four years,

and form a comfortable covering, under which they may repose with security from the night air.

For their clothes, which it may be necessary for them to wear, during the day they should have a strong woollen jacket, like that worn by sailors, of the value of about six or seven shillings. This jacket is intended to be used when they turn out in a morning, and when they come from the field in the evening, and on other occasions in the beginning of the year, when the northerly winds prevail, and there is a degree of coolness in the air, that renders it necessary to have some covering. In the heat of the day, it is rather an incumbrance than a convenience, and should be laid aside in a place secure from the rain; for, as I have proposed, in another place, it would be better to let the negroes work naked throughout the rain, which, descending in momentary showers, does them no injury, than to have their jackets wetted, and to work with them in that condition, and afterwards to retire to rest with them in the same state, which may do a great deal. They should be resorted to only when the rain has passed over, and then the jacket is of advantage, by recovering the warmth of the body, and contributing to renew the perspiration.

A Dutch cap, or a coarse hat, and two pair of trowsers, or petticoats, according to the sex, made of Hessians or Osnaburghs, should also be given them annually, the amount of which several articles would not be more than eighteen or twenty shillings sterling.

Some persons (the French commonly do so), instead of a jacket, give their negroes shirts of Osnaburghs, or checks, or some other coarse linen, which is not near so proper for the purpose, as it defends them neither against the wind, nor the cold. Besides, these materials have the disadvantage of being soon wetted, and when wet, are much more hurtful to the body than wet woollen. They are not, however, to be proscribed altogether, for they who are willing to incur the expence, may be indulged in it, and deserve praise for their liberality; but they must consider such garments rather as a luxury, than an accommodation to nature, for, as a defence against the injuries of the weather, woollen, in any shape, is undoubtedly to be preferred.

There are many Planters, who, instead of sending their negro clothing from England ready made, send the materials only. If they deal them out by the yard, and leave it to the negroes indiscriminately

to get them shaped into garments, as well as they can, the practice is certainly injudicious, and ought to be discouraged, as the poor and improvident part of the gang, being neither able to do the work themselves, nor to pay for its being done by others, commonly dispose of the materials for a trifle, and go almost naked throughout the year, their nudities only being half concealed by rags; but if you can charge yourself with the care of having the clothes strongly worked up by your own seamstresses, of whom there are generally enough on every plantation, it would certainly be better than to buy them ready made; which, having been done by the piece, at a low price, and consequently with great dispatch, are very badly put together, and rip and separate with the slightest wear. There is, besides, an advantage in sending the unwrought materials, arising from the bounty of two-pence a yard on the exportation of British manufactures of that quality, which will nearly pay for the labour of working them up into clothing. If the materials are given to the more sensible negroes, they should be accompanied with thread, tape, and buttons, which, purchased at the stores, are very expensive.

It is a practice but too common among the negroes, to sell their clothes for the purpose of getting a little money; or to expose them so carelessly as to have them stolen. Every possible care should be taken to prevent this; for if what you give does not remain with them, you incur an expense without advantage.

I know no effectual means that can be employed for that purpose, but the best that can be taken is, to impress the initials of your name, and a number, with paint, or some other indelible matter, on each of the pieces of their clothing; and, having noted on a list the names of the negroes to whom each number is appropriated, it is easy, when any disputes happen among them, as they frequently do, respecting the property, to refer to the register, which will correctly ascertain to whom it belongs.

As a still further check to their improvident propensity of selling their clothes, the whole gang should be required to appear in them, and to produce their blankets every six or eight weeks, on a Sunday evening at grass throwing, in order that you may be assured they have not made away with them. Should you find that their clothes

are not forthcoming, the defaulters should be punished, to render them more careful in future, by omitting to give them new ones when the time of distribution comes round again; and by supplying them with some half-worn clothes that have served the preceding year to the more provident negroes, from whom they may be purchased for a trifle.

As negroes are fond of finery, it will be useful to cultivate that inclination, by praising them when you see them well dressed, or by something more substantial than praise, by a small gift, such as a handkerchief, a pair of shoes, or stockings. The best negroes take a pride in their wardrobe; and whenever they can be brought to apply their monies to the decoration of their persons, a presumption arises, that they do not waste it on strong liquors, or dissipate it in gaming.

The principal negroes of the plantation, such as drivers, boilers, tradesmen, carters, and mill-boatswains, should receive some other clothing, not usually assigned to others, such as a couple of shirts of dowlas, or Irish linen, and a hat of somewhat superior quality. The same indulgence should also be shewn to any of the field negroes, who, in the course of their conduct throughout the year,

have acquitted themselves to your satisfaction. Besides this, the drivers should have each of them a cloth coat, of a colour different from the other negroes, as a distinguishing ensign of their authority.

The watchmen, who are placed over the cane-pieces, being supposed to be on the alert in all weathers, and much exposed to the night air, should be fortified with great coats, which may be taken from them, and transferred to their successors, whenever they are removed from the watch, as they are rather attached to the office than to the person.

Your boilers should each receive, at the beginning of the crop, two long aprons, and two pair of trowsers, of strong dowlas. Besides the decency of such an appearance at the coppers, the apron will be of no small use in protecting them from being scalded by the spattering of the liquor, in the vehemence of its ebullition, when it approaches to sugar. They should also have a good flannel waistcoat, to put on when they quit their work to go to the negro-houses, as they are at that time very subject to take cold. This clothing should be given in addition to the plantation al-

lowance, at the commencement of the crop, and will be dearly enough earned in the progress of it, as the business of a boiler, at that season, is one of the most laborious on the estate.

CHAPTER V.

On Lodging.

ALTHOUGH there is reason to think that the huts of negroes are not inferior to the habitations of a great part of mankind; and though from that circumstance, it might be inferred, that they are as good as they have any occasion to be, yet, as they are susceptible of improvement, I imagine a little reflection will convince us that improvement is necessary.

The arts have contributed in no respect more to the comfort and security of life, than in the structure of our dwellings, which protect us from the inclemencies of the elements, and are inaccessible both to rain and wind. But the huts of negroes, which imperfectly possess the former advan-

tage, are totally destitute of the latter; every agitation of the air being felt in them, and that with an effect proportioned to the state of the body, when exposed to its current.

If a man retires to rest, unfatigued by exercise, with no excess of perspiration, and with his body of its ordinary temperature, much inconvenience, perhaps, is not to be apprehended from the wind, though it should blow upon him; but if he has laboured hard through the day, as negroes always do, and, in consequence, has sweated profusely, the pores being then opened, much injury may result from their sudden contraction; still more, if his body be covered with wet clothing when he goes to sleep.

To shift when our clothes are wetted is what wisdom holds indispensible, and it is seldom neglected by any white man, whatever be his condition. Certainly then, no one ought to think of going to sleep in his wet clothes, and that in situations where a stream of cold air could reach him; yet negroes, ignorant and unapprehensive, do so perpetually, and, we wonder at the frequency of their maladies, not considering that what may naturally be expected to kill a white man, may possibly have a bad effect on a negro also. Indeed, there is reason to think, that the mischief doth not proceed so much from the moisture as from the wind acting upon moisture,

which evaporates, and, in the act of evaporation, generates an extraordinary degree of cold, that sometimes makes a fatal impression on the body.

It is not necessary to exhaust time in inquiring into the philosophy of that operation, by which cold is produced, as we may content ourselves with an observation of its effect in the familiar example of a bottle of wine cooled in the sun, by the agency of wind acting on a wet cloth; nor is it more necessary, in a work of this kind, to ascertain the reason, were it possible so to do, why diseases are produced by the sudden refrigeration of the body, though we know, from melancholy experience, that they are.

That more negroes come into the hospital in the morning than in the course of the day, and that, not only with pretended, but with real indisposition, is a fact which the experience of every planter must compel him to acknowledge; therefore it is very reasonable to infer, that the greater number of maladies which manifest themselves at that particular period, have been occasioned by something that has occurred more frequently in their lodgings than elsewhere, and what these causes are, we cannot, after the preceding considerations, be at a loss to conjecture. For my part, I suspect that next to hard

labour, and scant feeding, nothing contributes more to the disordering of negroes than bad lodgings, and I am in doubt whether it doth not contribute as much as either the one or the other.

As wind, therefore, is so hurtful an agent when acting under such circumstances, it surely becomes our duty, to exclude it as much as possible from their dwellings; for you will in vain admonish a negro not to risk his health by exposing himself to the air in his wet clothes. He has no ear for caution; and the only way to protect him from the effects of his indiscretion, is not to allow him an opportunity of being indiscreet.

But were it less evident than it is, that much of the sickness of negroes is produced by their bad lodgings, we should still find motives enough to improve those assigned for their use.

In other countries, where men are free, and of course only occupied in providing for their own luxuries, they have leisure to build, rebuild, or repair, as caprice may dictate, or accident require: but with negroes, half whose time is devoted to the service of others, the little which is not given to sleep, must necessarily be employed in obtaining or cooking their food, which exhausts almost the whole of their short remissions from labour.

Having therefore no time, or such only as is subtracted from more urgent demands upon it, the erection, or repair of their houses, becomes a very heavy tax, when it is to be effected by themselves alone, as the case is on most estates, and, of course, the business both advances slowly, and is imperfectly done. Hence they are suffered to remain in a decayed and mouldering state, as long as they can hold together, to admit their owners to crawl into them; and when they are taken down and rebuilt, it is, in a manner, and with materials, that promise an existence of four or five years only. Such is the case with the generality of negro houses; some there are, though but a few, much more solidly and artificially constructed by the sensible negroes on most estates.

Having pointed out the evil of bad lodgings, and which certainly has been too much overlooked, I am naturally led to consider the means of preventing it, which may, in most cases, be effected, so far as regards the exclusion of the wind from the houses, though to extend their duration may not be so easy, from the difficulty of obtaining, in certain situations, such materials as can alone ensure it.

In the erection of negro houses, three objects are to be attended to:

1. The preservation of the health of the negroes.

2. Their preservation from tempests.

3. Their security from fire.

Happily, these three points may be obtained by the same means; for, in either case, the first to be considered is, their situation, which ought to be neither very much elevated, nor too low; for if low, you may expect the fluxes of your negroes to assume a putrid appearance, and to prove more fatal than they would do in a better situation. If too high, and much exposed to the action of the wind, the houses will be subject to be stripped of their thatch, and to more frequent destruction by fire, as the embers will be apt to blow about, and to come in contact with the buildings, which are in every part combustible, and, when once inflamed, there is no possibility of saving the whole range to leward from being involved in the same fate.

Neither will the negroes be so healthy from the cause above-mentioned, namely, the influx of wind, which, in such situations, it is impossible to exclude effectually. A site between the two is the best; one rather to leward, than to the windward, of a hill. But as it frequently happens that there is no option of situations, you must do as well as you can; and take

care that the houses be not too distant from the family dwelling, so that the proprietor, or his manager, may at all times have an eye to his gang, to be informed of their proceedings, to permit and encourage innocent mirth, but to suppress turbulent contentions.

The houses should be placed more apart than they now are; an interval of thirty feet being the least that ought to be allowed between house and house. If it were more, so much the better.

They should be ranged in equidistant lines, to preserve a free circulation of air, and to admit a more direct communication between them. They may be invested with plantain-trees, which, if not too thickly planted, so far from being of any prejudice, will be of great advantage, as they afford a friendly shade, retard the progress of fire, and supply a valuable food, which would be thought delicious, were it less common.

The tops of the houses may be covered with three kinds of thatch; the tops of canes, of roseaus, or wild canes, and with a certain kind of grass, called, in some of the islands, the fox-tail grass. The last is to be preferred, where it can be obtained in suffi-

cient quantity, as it is less inflammable, and of much longer duration. Instead of thatching the sides, as now practised, to the injury of the negroes health, and to the increasing the danger from fire, they should be wattled with small rods, or pieces of wild cane, and plastered within with clay, which, being whitewashed, will render them more light and pleasant, and exclude the wind.

The floors should be raised six or eight inches above the level of the ground, and a small channel be kept open all round the outside of the house, to convey away the water that drops from the roof, or ooges from the ground above. The partition also that divides the apartments should be wattled and plastered on both sides; and, as a further security against fire, no mats, or other such substances as are easily inflamed, should be suspended in any part of the house.

As to furniture, that need not be very costly; though the negroes will desire some little decoration in their own way, and it is fortunate when their luxury takes so innocent a direction, as many of them have a good deal of money, the produce from the sale of their provisions, at their disposal, which cannot be better expended than in the embellishment of their houses, and the adorning of their persons,

such an application of their opulence, intimating that they love something better than rum, which is the sole delight of a great many of them.

But though much furniture be not necessary, it is proper to give them something to sleep upon, that they may be kept from the ground. At present, a board is sometimes given them for that purpose, and sometimes not. Instead of it, I would recommend a bedstead, or more, in proportion to the size of the family, composed of boards six feet four inches long, and three or four feet wide, planed on one side, and supported, at the distance of eighteen inches from the ground, by transverse pieces, six inches wide, nailed to four upright pieces of plank, which are to serve by way of feet. Of these bedsteads even an indifferent plantation carpenter will make three in a day, and the cost of each in boards, nails, and labour, in times of peace, when lumber is reasonable, will not be more than ten or twelve shillings. The negroes are accustomed to hard lodgings; yet to render them more comfortable, and to prevent their flesh from being annoyed, in the conflict between the bones and the boards, they may be covered with bonano mats, preferably to pads made of the leaves; and over that the negroes may spread their blankets, which were given expressly

with that intention. Upon such a bed, a slave sleeps more soundly, (notwithstanding what the mind may fiction of his miseries), than a despot on down, being but little corroded by care, and not at all disturbed with the dreams of liberty.

Houses so constructed would answer perfectly for the purpose of sheltering them from the weather, were they not, by the combustibility of their materials, subject to be destroyed by fire, which seldom fails to do, more or less mischief on every plantation, once in two or three years, sometimes scarcely leaving the vestige of a house.

To obviate so fatal an accident, the plastering of the insides of the houses may contribute much, and the distances to which they are proposed to be removed from each other, may prevent the flames from extending so far as they otherwise might do, though, when there is a fresh wind, it is seldom that the houses, situated in the range to leward, can be rescued from destruction.

As much danger, therefore, is to be apprehended, not only to the negro houses, but to other more important buildings, from the accident of fire, it would be prudent to be furnished with two or three garden engines, of about seven guineas value each, together with as many dozen of leathern buckets, which, on the first

alarm of fire, may be transported to the place where their services are required, and, by playing on the houses nearest to that which the flames are already devouring, they may frequently be prevented from extending, and the more effectually, if the roof of the exposed houses are covered with green plantain leaves, of which it is proposed that a plentiful supply should be at hand.

The danger from fire will also be greatly diminished by building with materials less susceptible of inflammation, such as stones; for as for bricks, being of foreign manufacture, they are far too costly to be thought of, but stones, abounding sufficiently in most places, may be employed for the construction of a certain number of houses at least, if they should be thought too expensive for the whole.

Every building of stone, designed for the accommadation of negroes, may consist of three tenements under one roof, each possessing two apartments, an outer one, or hall, and the sleeping room. The former should be about twelve feet square, and the latter about ten by twelve in the clear, so that each house occupying twenty-two feet in length, the whole building will be sixty-six feet in the clear length; for it is designed that the partitions should be of wood. The walls need not be more

than five feet high on the outside, on which the plate resting, the inside, will be more than six feet high, which is sufficient to admit a tall man to stand upright.

In consequence of the walls being low, they may be made thinner than usual. Twenty inches will be sufficient. The outside should be made of faced stones, that the joints may be more easily pointed; but the inside may be of rough stones, which, when white-washed, will do very well.

As economy must be considered when it can with propriety, no lime need to be employed in the cement of these walls; any loam, or tarris, answering that purpose; but it will be necessary, in that case, that particular care be taken in pointing the joints as deep as the trowel can reach, with a very good white mortar.

The walls being built, the roof that is to cover them may either be of thatch, or of boards stuccoed. The former will have the advantage of costing less, and for that reason, perhaps, will be generally preferred; and though they may be more subject to fire, yet the roof only being perishable, and the damage easily repaired, it may not be neceesary to incur the expense of better materials for all the

roofs; but a certain number ought to be built so as to be capable of resisting both fire and the hurricanes, with which we are sometimes visited, to the certain destruction of all our negro houses, and the great injury of the negroes, by the loss of their clothing, and the great difficulty to which they are put in building them again. Indeed, a secure asylum, under such a calamity, is important, not only for their persons, and those of their children, but for their effects, which to them are of great value, though they are not inventoried in the chattels of an estate.

For the more effectual answering of this purpose, the pitch of the roof should be very low, and the ends hipped. The plate, which should be of hard wood, if to be had, should come exactly even with the outward wall, and the eaves of the roof should not project more than an inch and a half, or two inches, beyond the plate, which should be defended from the weather by a board descending below the plate, and covering an inch or two of the wall. For a roof of a narrow span, and low pitch, short rafters, of eight or nine feet only, will be required; but they should be strong, though light, and well compacted with braces and collar-beams. The partitions

which intersect the buildings, and form the apartments, may contribute much to the retaining of the roof in its proper place, as may the wall within, which should rise higher than the plate, and prevent its being forced off by violent winds; though no winds less furious than hurricanes, would be able to affect such a building, and even those they would be able to withstand, if built with due care.

By connecting the plates to the window frames, either by tenons inserted into the plate, or by iron plates, strongly nailed, an additional security may be obtained.

It is evident that walls, thus intended to resist the rage of hurricanes, should be constructed of good strong mortar, and have two feet of thickness. The roof should be boarded with thick boards perfectly well seasoned, and jointed and placed so close together, as to be in no danger of shrinking by the heat of the sun. They should be attached to the rafters with twenty-penny nails; and half-crown nails may be employed for the principals and plates. Laths are to be nailed on the boards, and the whole coated with a stucco cement. The first coat of plaster may have hair in it, the other should be without hair, but made with river-sand,

with a sixth part of quick lime pounded and sifted through a pretty fine sieve, to prevent it from blistering. The stucco is to be applied warm, and the trowel frequently wetted, should not cease to move until it be well set and hard. Should cracks appear in the stucco, as they probably will, they should be filled with putty.

I do not recommend shingles for the covering of these roofs, as they are more susceptible of fire, and more easily ripped off by the wind. Neither do I approve of tiles or slates, for the latter reason. Besides a covering of stucco has the advantage of being considerably cheaper, which alone is no small argument in its favour.

A roof of this construction is well adapted to withstand hurricanes, as it presents but a small surface for them to act upon; neither will the wind insinuate itself through the eaves, or any other crevice, so as to detach the plaster; but, if it should do so, the evil will not be great, as, in all probability, the boards will remain attached to the rafters, and the greatest inconvenience the negroes will suffer will be a wetting, which all who know what hurricanes are, will think a cheap composition with a calamity such as that.

It should be the endeavour of every planter to have some of these indestructible buildings, or hurricane houses, as they are called. Their number may be proportioned to that of your gang, that, on occasions of fire or hurricanes, they may have a temporary accommodation to receive them. They should be as near as possible to the centre of the other houses, that they may be more easily resorted to in cases of such urgent distress; and, by destroying the continuity of the thatched roofs, and creating a greater interval, it is probable, that any fire breaking out to the windward, will not extend its ravages beyond them.

But should poverty, or ill-judged economy, prevent you from having many such houses, one at least there ought to be on every estate, large enough to contain, on extraordinary occasions, all your negroes, together with their effects. On other occasions, it may be devoted to the negro children, who are under the inspection of the nurses, as will be more particularly adverted to in a subsequent chapter. Houses not easily burnt are the properest for that service, as there is reason to suspect it is by the carelessness of children, if not by their infant malignity, that fires are frequently occasioned.

Negroes are often robbed of their property by interlopers, or some of your own gang, who take advantage of their absence in the field, to enter their houses, and to carry away what they can put their hands on.

To prevent the complaints, which you will frequently be troubled with on this head, without the power of redressing them otherwise than by paying the loss out of your own pocket, which many gentlemen prefer to do, rather than to suffer their importunities, and which, indeed, they ought to do, on that principle of law, which binds counties to indemnify travellers robbed by highwaymen, it would be prudent to have a watchman specially assigned for the protection of the negro houses. A weak one, or even a woman, if no other can conveniently be spared, will answer the purpose, the only duty to be exacted from her being to patrole the premises in the absence of the negroes at their work, and to apprehend, or give notice of, such as are skulking about, from an assurance, that they are either meditating mischief, or are absent from the field or the hospital without leave.

Much damage will, however, be suffered by fire occasionally, notwithstanding your utmost care to prevent it; and, in that case, the ruin is much more

complete than when it results from a hurricane, which leaves, at least, many of the materials, that may be applied to the same use again. It would be prudent to be always prepared against such an event, by securing a supply of the materials, which otherwise it may be difficult to procure at the time, and in the quantities required on such an emergency. On estates, whose extent and situation admit of it, there are a variety of plants which may be adapted to that use. If none of them grow naturally, some may be planted, which will afford a constant supply for the purpose. The tree, called the callabar by the French, as well as by the English, in some of the islands, being in common use for protecting young coffee or cocoa plantations, will do very well. They are not very durable; but, as they require only ten or twelve years growth to fit them for posts, or crutches, and are easily renewed, they furnish good substitutes in the scarcity of hard wood, that is more lasting. If such indeed could be procured, a preference should by all means be given to them.

As for plates and rafters, nothing is lighter, stronger, and more durable, than the bamboo cane, which will thrive almost any where, but luxuriantly in situations where their roots penetrate to the

water. With that advantage, they afford also another, in being so rapid in their vegetation, as to give a tree thirty or forty feet high, admirably adapted for negro houses, and many other plantation purposes, in the course of two or three years from the time of depositing the plant in the ground.

Roseaus, or wild canes, will be found useful in rods for the roof, to which the thatch is to be connected. The smaller ones being strait, and sufficiently flexible, to interlace with one another, and, lying very close, will almost exclude the air, without the aid of plaster, though that should not be omitted.

They will grow every where, but best in moist rich soils; but, wherever planted, care should be taken to shelter them from the trespasses, either of the cattle or negroes, who, in their progress through them, do much injury, by breaking and trampling upon the young plants.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Breeding of Negroes.

IT is very certain, that the negroes who are born and reared in the sugar colonies, bear no proportion to those who die there: hence, in order to prevent the depopulation that would otherwise take place, a demand arises for recruits from the continent of Africa, from whence a great number are annually drafted for the consumption of the islands. This circumstance has afforded matter of concern to many good men, whose humanity revolted from a system of commerce, which depopulates one part of the world for the aggrandizement of the other, and whose efforts for its suppression, have been exerted with no common zeal.

It has been asserted, that this facility of obtain-

ing slaves by purchase, hath had the bad effect of rendering the West-India Planters less attentive to their increase by procreation, than they otherwise would have been, if they had had their own stock only to depend upon; and that it was with them a matter of calculation, whether it were not cheaper to buy new negroes, than to wait their tardy generation, through all the stages of pregnancy, and infancy, at an expense more than equal to their value, when arrived at any degree of maturity for labour.

So far as this charge goes, I know not that it hath been altogether without foundation; as I preserve a faithful remembrance of the subject, having been agitated in companies where I was present, and that the weight of argument was thought to preponderate greatly in favour of the mode of purchase.

It is therefore more than probable, that practice was regulated by that conviction, and that we were less anxious than we ought to have been, for the increasing of our gangs by breeding; but I hope we have not merited the reproaches with which we have been loaded, of having used our endeavours to prevent it. But, whatever might have been the indifference of men to this subject formerly, it certainly is no longer so, for calculation very clearly

coincides with duty, and tells us, that it is much cheaper to breed than to purchase; the price of new negroes being three times as great as it was forty years ago, and a possibility existing, that we may be finally excluded from that source of supply.

This decrease of negro slaves in the islands, has partly arisen from their destructive occupations in an unhealthy climate, and so far the evil admits of no remedy; but there are also other causes contributing to it in no small degree, which may be obviated. These are,

1. The lesser number of imported females.
2. Their sterility.
3. Their frequent abortions.
4. The great number of infants who die soon after their birth.

It has been usual for purchasers to give a preference of males to females, from many motives, but principally from their being less subject to indisposition, and from the variety of services on a plantation, which are not to be executed but by masculine vigour. In order, therefore, to meet this demand, the traders have generally assorted their cargoes in the proportion of three males to two females. Now, I think it cannot reasonably be denied, that

women are at least as necessary to propagation as men. Nay, a French writer, who has favoured the public with a supplement to Rouseau's social contract, has asserted, that they are much more so; for he lays it down as a rule, that in a society of ten thousand women, and ten thousand men, no more children will be born, than if there had been only one-fifth part of the males, which he supposes to be a proportion fully competent to every purpose of generation. Of this position I should have entertained a doubt, had not my assent been extorted by the confidence with which it was delivered; and, by a knowledge of such strange things having happened in that kingdom, that every thing may be credited as possible. But, taking it for granted, that no such sturdy powers reside in the males of any other country, and no such facilities in the females, I shall only advise, that were a planter has not his due proportion of women, he should procure them, that each may be accommodated according to the ordinance of nature, and not be under the necessity of trespassing on his neighbour; though it will be difficult to fix their desires to their respective plantations, and prevent them from wandering after novelties abroad.

The next point to be attended to is, to prevent

their sterility, which is an evil not to be done entirely; for negro women have ardent constitutions, which dispose them to be liberal of their favours; and it has been found by experience, that they who resign themselves to the indiscriminate caresses of men, are seldom very prolific; therefore, you must expect that there will be many of your female slaves, who will contribute but little to the population of your estate.

As to that barrenness which arises from the obstruction of their periodical discharges, it may frequently be removed by the regimen, and medical means, hereafter to be treated of, in a chapter set apart for that subject; though, I believe, it will be found, that without any other means than the general ones recommended with respect to diet, lodgings, and labour, your negroes will be preserved in a state of fecundity, that will enable them to present you with a sufficient number of annual recruits, to repair the mortality of your gang.

But you are not only deprived of the fruit of your negroes, by their inability to conceive, but also by their abortions after having conceived; frequently accidental, and sometimes spontaneous, being solicited by art.

Accidental abortions arise, either from internal

weakness, or external injury. If from the first of these causes, the constitution must be strengthened by nourishing diet, the cold bath, and steel and bitters, in small quantities, and very moderate labour.

External injuries are to be prevented, by not suffering them to carry heavy loads any where, but particularly in descending steep and slippery hills after rain, or to over work themselves.

Abortions, excited by the art of the negro herself, arise from her considering pregnancy as an evil, and children as incumbrances; therefore, in order to obviate the one, and to get rid of the other, they endeavour to obtain a miscarriage, either by such violences as they know to be generally effectual, or by some of the simples of the country, which are possessed of forcible powers of expulsion.

That pregnancy occasions great inconveniencies, there is no doubt, even to persons whose happier circumstances enable them to palliate its rigours, by every means which affluence can supply; but, to a labouring slave, the evil admits no indulgences of the kind. During the first months of gestations, her stomach is harrassed with sickness, and in the latter stages of it, the weight and pressure of the child

disables her from moving without uneasiness and difficulty. Upheld by no consolation, animated by no hope, her nine-months of torment issue in the production of a being, doomed, like herself, to the rigours of eternal servitude, and aggravating, by its claims on maternal support, the weight of her own evils.

These considerations ought to have more weight than they are usually allowed to possess. If the effects of pregnancy cannot be altogether avoided, they may be prevented from oppressing the mind of the negro, so as to incite her to the criminal attempt of expelling her burden, by the possession of present indulgencies, and the prospect of future remuneration. It would be unadvisable, even with respect to the negro herself, to exempt her totally from labour; for, by a moderate use of it, her health will be preserved, and her mind kept freer from painful reflections; but she should be favoured with occasional remissions of it, particularly when she throws herself into the sick-house. Pregnant women are not to be incessantly goaded to their work; and that which is required of them, should be of a lighter kind than what they usually perform.

Six weeks, or two months, before the expected time of delivery, they should be put among the

grass gang, to bring a few bundles of grass, or vines, for the use of the stock. To the last hour they should be kept in motion, though for their own profit, for their service to the estate will be very little; but, as they will present themselves several times in a day with the little negroes, you will see that they are employed, and in such a manner, as cannot possibly injure them.

This exemption from labour will be looked upon by your negroes as some indemnity for their sufferings, and the hope of those indulgencies which they are to experience when they are mothers, will probably render them desirous to become so.

If a miscarriage should be threatened, which you will know by the negro complaining of a violent pain in the loins, and the bottom of the belly, and sometimes by a loss of blood, a still more certain indication of approaching mischief, you will immediately order her to a retired room of the sick house, and, to prevent the threatened consequences, have recourse to the means recommended in the chapter on abortion.

When the time of labour approaches, you are to see that they are provided with proper child-bed linen; and if they have it not themselves, you must supply it from a store, which you should always

keep at hand for that purpose. You should also satisfy yourself that they have a dry lodging, and proper coverings, to defend them from the cold while they are lying-in. This, like many other points of their treatment, hath been but too much neglected, and a negro, in ordinary travail, was but little more thought of than a cat in the same circumstances.

When the pains of labour come on, they will require the service of the midwife, one of which you ought to have of your own, as no estate should be without one. Any elderly, sensible, prudent woman, who has borne children, may easily be instructed in the art of delivering others. A few lessons from any gentleman of the faculty, or even from one of her own sex, will qualify her sufficiently for your purpose; the principal part of what she has to learn being, not to attempt too much, and to demand other assistance, when the presentation of the child is not according to nature. In forty-nine times out of fifty, no other assistance will be required; for few are the cases where nature is not the midwife; but in those of seeming difficulty, men of science must be early resorted to; for the life of a negro is not to be hazarded, in the hope of nature

accomplishing her own task, though it is more than probable she will ultimately do so. For this reason, and that you may not be tempted from motives of economy, to withhold assistance until it is too late to be effectual; you had better engage the medical attendant of your estate to take your midwifery cares also by the year; which he will do for a small augmentation of salary, provided he is only to be called in cases pronounced of emergency, by the midwife. Her vanity will prevent his being called too often, though she should be admonished of the danger of delay, and threatened with punishment, if any accident should happen through her neglect.

During labour, no rum, or wine, or any thing that is heating, should be given, on any pretence, unless the doctor advises it; the only proper nourishment, at that time, being a little panada, or gruel. The patient must be ordered, not to exhaust herself with violent exertions, to hasten the operations of nature, but to let her have her own course, and to resign to her efforts.

As soon as the negro is delivered, and every thing done that her situation requires, the child must be next attended to; and a tub of water, from

the sea, if it can conveniently be procured, if not, of any other water, being at hand for the purpose, the child, unless weakness, or any other circumstance forbids, must be immediately plunged into it, over head and ears, and withdrawn instantly.

This may appear a harsh and hazardous process to persons accustomed to the softer treatment of ordinary life; and is, in fact, so great a deviation from the rule which nature seems to have prescribed, that nothing but experience of its effects could justify my recommending it as I do, most warmly, not only from my own practice of thirty years, but also from that of many others, whom I have known in the West Indies, and the immemorial usage of many tribes in savage life, from whom the hint was probably first derived.

It is notorious to every one, to whom the subject is familiar, that a great many negro children die within the first twelve or fourteen days after their birth, of what is called the jawfall; a cruel malady on most estates; but on some it has proved so fatal, that few, in consequence of it, survive that period, though every means which science seemed to dictate, were resorted to, to prevent it.*

* Mr. Chisholm, an eminent practioner of Jamaica, rated the number who die of the jawfall at one fourth. Mr. An-

This phenomenon has been ascribed to various causes; particularly to the access of cold air to the navel string, and the retention of the meconium, as it is called, or that viscous humour which lines the stomach and bowels of new-born infants. It is of little use to speculate on this point; but certain it is that neither an attention to the navel, nor a timely evacuation of the bowels alone, though that is highly proper, will be found sufficient to prevent the jawfall. The only thing from which I have experienced any signal service, is the dipping above recommended, which has proved so very effectual with me, and others, who have made trial of its effects, and the instances of its failing, (as a preventive before the disorder has made its appearance, for, after it, nothing will do,) are so few, as to be comprised in four or five cases during the space of thirty years. I do not say that they

derson, of Saint Ann's Parish, concurs in the same opinion, though Mr. Quiers, a gentleman of long and extensive practice in the parishes of St. John and St. Thomas, in the Vale, in the same island, stated, that he did not think the jawfall, or tetanus, a common disorder among the infants of his quarter. It merits inquiry, from what local causes, if any, this disorder appears so frequently on some estates, and so rarely on others.

Vide the reports of the committee of council, article, Jamaica, Appendia.

may not possibly have been more numerous; but my memory does not furnish me with a recollection of them; and this I know, that they were so rare, that when a child was born, I suffered but small apprehensions for its fate from that otherwise terrible disorder. It is true, indeed, that I neglected no other means that have been deemed necessary, such as a due regard to the navel, and the bowels, which I purge with a tea-spoonful of castor oil, or two drachms of manna, on the second day; and if that does not operate sufficiently, I order the dose to be repeated the following day. The children ought not only to be dipped soon after they come into the world, but also every other day, when particular indisposition does not render it improper. The good effects of this practice, which I most earnestly recommend my readers to adopt, is inconceivable. I am almost sanguine enough to expect from it, that so many children will be rescused from the first perils of infancy, as to lessen not a little the depopulation complained of.

As soon as the mother has rested, and recovered from the fatigues of her labour, the child should be put to the breast; nature disposes it to suck, and we should pursue her indication.

Fortunately, the dangers of child-bed are not very great in warm climates; much less so certainly than in the colder ones. Negroes are seldom attacked with child-bed fevers, and recover rapidly, even when all, which prudence seems to prescribe, are neglected to be observed. However, the fourth or fifth day after delivery, the mother should be gently purged, with a table spoonful of castor oil, or an ounce of manna dissolved in warm water; and she should not be required to return to the field until a month after that period. As to her confinement to the house during that time, that you are not to expect her to submit to, nor indeed ought you to require it, nature working her own purposes, by shorter and more efficacious means, than officious man, who traverses all her operations, is willing to admit; perhaps she might return to her labour much earlier, but upon the principle of her being entitled to indulgence, a month at least must be allowed to recruit her strength and spirits, and when she does go to the field, you must put her into one of the weaker gangs, and work her gently, until she is perfectly re-established in her former vigour.

It hath been usual to allow the mothers to carry

their children to the field, that they may retire occasionally to suckle them. The practice is bad, for the following reasons, which respect the child.

They are exposed to inconveniences from their compresssion at the back of their mothers, in going to, and returning from the field, also to the sun, wind, and rain, when there; for it is seldom they are protected by any sufficient defence; and it is idle to urge, as some have done, in justification of this practice, that negroes reared in that way are more hardy than others, who are more carefully nursed; for it is bad policy to encounter a risk of death in order to fortify the body. Infancy, at least, is not the season to attempt it; for the constitutions of children are not to be formed in the first or second year after they are brought into the world. Their powers of resisting the inclemencies of the elements, and the toils of the field must be acquired by their own exertions, at a later period of life.

The practice is bad also with respect to the interest of the master; for the mothers frequently lose a great deal of time. Under a pretence of giving suck to their children, they step aside from their labour, every now and then, and stay so long as to lose near the half of every day. You will therefore do

well to abolish this practice as soon as possible; as I did long ago, much to my benefit, and the advantage of my gang; for I find my children the healthier for it, and that more work is done by the mothers who, for that reason, resisted the reform as much as they could, though a little use reconciled them to it.

The negro women being prohibited from taking their children into the field, you must have, in the centre of your negro houses, one of larger dimensions than the rest, and proportioned to the size of the estate; if built of stone, so much the better, for the purpose of a nursery, to receive all your negro children, from the end of the first month of their birth, until they are old enough to begin to do some work, and to be incorporated among your grass-gang.

To this nursery, which must be supplied with a range of trays, or shallow boxes, elevated on a platform a few inches from the ground, to prevent the infants from rolling down, you must have them all conducted every morning and noon, when the mothers go to the field, and there placed under the care of one or more very sensible and trust-worthy old women, the feeblest of them, and such as are superanuated for field labour, will answer this pur-

pose better than any other, as they are more attentive to their charge, and less apt to go abroad in pursuit of amusement, than the younger part of the sex. Their business must be, to place the infants in their cradles, to keep them clean, to feed them with spoon-meat when they require it, and to exercise them from time to time, though, following the indications of nature, the best exercise will be rolling about the floor. As to the children who are able to walk, and that they will soon do from their own exertions, they may be allowed to amuse themselves at play, either in the house, or out of it; but they should not go out of the nurses sight, and, in order that they may always be kept within it, the nursery should be encompassed at such a distance, as to include an area of fifty or sixty feet square, with paling, four or five feet high, beyond which they should not be allowed to ramble. By this means they are less exposed to accidents, and your negro houses better preserved from fire, of which they are frequently the occasion.

But though the mothers are not to be permitted to carry their infants into the field, they are nevertheless to be allowed time to suckle them at home; therefore, you must indulge them with an hour of grace, after the other negroes are turned out in the

morning, and one hour at breakfast, which will be sufficient, to allow them to repair to the nursery to give suck to their children. At noon they will require no particular indulgence in point of time; as they are, instead of it, to be exempted from picking grass, both at noon and at night, as long as they continue to be nurses.

In the absence of the mothers, the cravings of the children are to be appeased with a little pap or penada; for which purpose, a quantity of bread, flour, and sugar, proportioned to the number of children, is to be distributed two or three times a week to the nurses, who are to feed them with a spoon.

That you may keep a strict eye upon the nurses, so as to prevent them, either from misappropriating the provisions allowed for the infants, or from neglecting them in any other respect, it would be proper for you now and then to look into the nursery, that you may be convinced they are duly employed.

To preserve children in health, through all the variations of weather, and to strengthen their bodies, I have found nothing more efficacious than the cold-bath. The dipping, recommended at the birth, should be continued when the infants get into the nursery, and all the time they remain there, though

they are not to be permitted to continue in the water very long at a time.

When any of the children are indisposed, it is the duty of the nurse to apprise you of it immediately, and they are to be specially charged so to do, that proper means may be taken to remove their complaints. If they are found to be very ill, they should be taken from the nursery into the sick-house, to be more immediately under your own eye, and the mothers must be kept from the field to attend them.

Negroes are universally fond of suckling their children for a long time. If you permit them, they will extend it to the third year; and if they experience the indulgencies I have been contending for, they certainly will not be more inclined to abridge the time. Their motives for this are, habit, an idea of its necessity, the desire of being spared at their labour, or perhaps the avoiding of another pregnancy; but from which ever of these motives, they do it, your business is to counteract their designs, and to oblige them to wean their children as soon as they have attained their fourteenth or sixteenth month, which is long enough to fortify their mouths with the instruments required for a more substantial diet, than the one they have hitherto received. If you

neglect to do this, you not only lose some of the mothers labour, but you prevent their breeding so soon as they otherwise would do, in all probability.

In order to wean the infants, it will be advisable for you to begin by directing the nurse to keep the child from the mother, both night and day: therefore the time which you have hitherto allowed her in the morning, and at breakfast, must be discontinued. However, as she is the mother of a child, she is still entitled to an indulgence, to prevent her from thinking her offspring an incumbrance, and to render her more anxious, if not to preserve them, (nature having done her business very effectually in that respect,) at least, to increase their number as much as possible. For many mothers, who are very fond of their children when once they have brought them into the world, would yet very gladly avoid having them; therefore, they must have a little incentive to reconcile them to that also. With this view, every additional child must bring its particular reward to the mother. For the first, she should be excused the picking of grass; for the second, you should allow her a whole day every other week, more than the rest of the gang; for the third, one day every week; and so on progressively for every additional child she shall present you

with; observing, at the same time, that these exemptions and indulgences are to continue no longer than the life of each child respectively; for, upon the death of any one of them before it leaves the nursery, the benefit derived to the mother from its existence, ought to cease, and that for an obvious reason. Policy should be made to supply the place of instinct, where that is deficient, and to co-operate with it when otherwise.

Whenever any of your women have produced six children, who live long enough to be incorporated with the grass-gang, no farther field labour should be required of them. I make no mention of unqualified freedom, as that indulgence will be fully equivalent to it, for their purpose, and the situation of the children would be too unequal, if any were born after the manumission of the mother. Under the present system of negro management, instances seldom occur of so numerous a progeny; but if they were to be rewarded in the progression above recommended, I have no doubt of their occurring very frequently; for negroes are generally prolific enough, and commence at an early period. The example of two or three negroes on an estate, who have thus bred themselves into freedom, would have a

wonderful effect in exciting the endeavours of others, to obtain the same reward.

That the feeding of the children may not operate as a tax upon the mothers, it will be incumbent on you to assist them with an allowance, equal to four or five pints weekly for every child, from the time of its being weaned, until it is drafted from the nursery into the grass gang; after which it should be increased, where you have not ground enough for them to cultivate in provisions on their own account. When you have ground, the allowance may be discontinued altogether, as children of that age will be very well able to give their mother an assistance equal to their own consumption; and the sooner they are initiated into the habit of working for their own subsistance the better. In their progress through life, nothing will be more useful to them.

On the withdrawing of the children from the nursery, those who have attended them there, and by whose care and attention they have been reared so far into life, will have some claim to a recompence. I would propose, that a compleat dress, of a jacket, shift, wrapper, and petticoat, should be given to the nurse for every child that she dismisses to the

field. If there are more nurses than one, the reward should be assigned to them alternately, and, as in that case, many children will be turned out every year, each nurse will think herself handsomely rewarded for her trouble, and will, of course, undergo it more cheerfully in future.

It must be evident that such a gratuity, though trifling to the proprietor, will have a good effect on the nurses, in rendering them more attentive to the discharge of their duty; and that the exemptions in favour of the mothers, will dispose them to do theirs also for the increase of their family.

The motives for attending to the rearing of creoles, are numerous and urgent; but I content myself with those derived from principles of economy; for while they are in their infancy, the expense bestowed upon them passes off so insensibly, as not to be felt. Your gang is thus recruited without perceptible disbursement. It does not require more than five or six years before they are capable of labour; little indeed at that tender age, yet sufficient to defray the expenses of their own support. In their adult age, they become invaluable, as it is from that class of negroes that you generally draw your domestics, drivers, boilers, and tradesmen of every description; and it is upon them that

you must principally depend for the work of your plantation. But, for a moment, lay interest aside, and ascend to a higher motive. Contemplate a creation, to which your cares have been so instrumental! Does opulence possess any delight comparable to it?

CHAPTER VII.

On Labour.

NEGROES being purchased for the profits of their labour, to fulfil that object, they must necessarily undergo a certain quantity of it; and that, if they have been treated in the manner recommended in the preceding chapters, they will be able to effect, without much prejudice to their health, and indeed with little more inconvenience than is experienced by the labouring poor of any other country.

The exertions, however, that are to be required from them should be proportioned to their faculties, which vary greatly in different subjects; some being capable of doing a great deal more than others. This seems not to have been sufficiently attended to in

our distribution of labour, as it is usual to divide the negroes of an estate, more according to their ages, than their abilities; power being inferred from age. They are divided into two parts, that of grown negroes, and of children. The consequence of which is, either that the weaker negroes must retard the progress of the stronger ones, or your drivers, insensible of the cause of their backwardness, or not weighing it properly, will incessantly urge them, either with stripes or threats, to keep up with the others; by which means they are overwrought, and compelled to resort to the sick-house. In order, therefore, that the weak may not work too much, nor the strong too little, it is advisable to divide your force into a greater number of sections, or gangs. The stoutest and most able should work by themselves, without any regard being had to their sex; for though men are supposed to possess, and generally do possess, more strength than women, it is not universally so, there being many women who are capable of as much labour as men; and some men, of constitutions so delicate, as to be incapable of toil as the weakest women. To your ablest negroes, therefore, which is called the strong gang, may be assigned, the rudest labour of the plantation, such as holing, stumping, or hoe-plowing, which,

as this portion of it will not be more than one-sixth part of your whole number, may employ them the greatest part of the time out of the crop.

As this part of your gang is loaded with a harder service, it will be proper to distinguish them with greater indulgencies. They must either have more time allotted to their own use, or you must give them some extraordinary food; some biscuits and grog, with or without molasses, daily, or rather twice a day; but the best way of rewarding them, after knowing of what number your holing gang consists, and how much land they are able to stump, or hole, or hoe-plow, in a day, is to assign them a task, regulated by that given quantity, and to require as much from them every day, leaving them to effect it at what hours they please, and let them enjoy to their own use, whatever time they do it in less. This will encourage every negro to make his utmost exertion, in consequence of which, the work of twelve hours will be dispatched in ten, and with much more satisfaction to themselves; for it hath been acknowledged, even by those writers who have treated on the subject, with a purpose unfriendly to the Planters, that it is not the excess of labour which negroes undergo, but the length of time they are

at it, that injures them the most. Upon this ground it has been proposed, by many well-meaning speculative men in England, that all our work should be executed on the same principle of task-work, or the assessment of a certain quantity per day, as they do with their negroes, in many parts of the continent of America. Were this equally practicable in all cases, it certainly ought to be done; but the misfortune is, the rule is applicable only to very few, from the necessity of dividing our negroes, as above recommended, into several gangs, and the various kinds of work which they have respectively to execute, and the fluctuation of their numbers, from day to day, by sickness, or other circumstances, which rejects every idea of their labouring universally on such a system; but whenever it is found practicable in any case, it ought to be done. The several kinds of business assigned to the strong gang, are of that description, and of course subject to such a regulation, as you have the same power to execute the same service daily; for, should any of your strong gang fall sick, or give out at their work, you have the means of replacing them by occasional draughts from your middle gang, which will contain some negroes robust enough to supply

their place, until they return to their labour; so as always to keep up the number of holers. The texture of your soil, loose or stiff, or the season dry or wet, may occasion differences to be allowed for in the assessment of your tasks; but with a little attention, you will be able to ascertain pretty correctly what ought to be expected from this gang every day or week. The same rule cannot be applied to the other departments of the plantation business. In the crop it is not to be thought of, nor in weeding; for, in the first case, the quality of the canes, long or short, lodged or standing, and, in the other, the greater or less abundance of the weeds, and in manuring, the distance to which the dung is to be carried, will make so great a difference, as to put it out of your power to assess them at these operations very generally, though it may be done in some cases, and wherever there is the least prospect of its being done, it should certainly be attempted; for nothing is so encouraging to your negroes, as the idea of a holiday at the end of their work; nor can any thing depress them more, than a tiresome routine of duty, which presents no prospect of end, relief, or recompence. In such cases, they labour with incessant regret; rather seeming to work, than

to work, and anxious only to consume the time, not to dispatch the business.

The second section of your gang should consist of such negroes as are not quite able enough to be admitted among the holers; though these may do any other work on the estate, such as planting, sometimes stumping, and hoe-plowing, and weeding your canes in a more advanced stage of their growth, in which your smaller negroes would make but little progress. To these, you may join the boys and girls of a larger size, and such convalescents as are not sufficiently recovered to return to their station among the strong gang: as for those who are but just dismissed from the hospital, and with powers too weak to do much, they must be associated to the small gang, which is to consist of the smaller negroes, who are not strong enough to do that which will be required of the middle gang, and yet are too big to be suffered to remain among the grass-gang. Their business must be with small hoes, adapted to their size, to weed the young canes, to assist in carrying the dung to the heaps, and in distributing it from thence over the cane-piece; a service, which, from their lightness and agility, they perform as well as the larger negroes, and with more

good will, if not oppressed with loads too heavy for their feeble shoulders.

Besides these several operative gangs, by whom the work of the estate is to be performed, you should have a fourth, composed of small negroes, just emerged from the nursery; and who, for want of other employment, would escape from their nurses, and employ themselves in mischief, such as in breaking canes, or pilfering from the absent negroes, or in setting fire to their houses, and in many such amusements, by the practice of which, they are initiated into early roguery, and become adepts in the science in time. To prevent this, let them be employed; for employment is the parent of honesty, as idleness is of vice. Let them be formed into a grass-gang, and put under the care of some discrete aged woman, whose duty it should be to collect them early in the morning, and to lead them to some part of the estate, where they may pick grass, or vines, as the one or other are most wanted for the stock. In this manner, they may bring five or six bundles each daily, of a size proportioned to their strength. Whenever they present their bundles, which they ought to do to the manager, or to some person charged by him to overlook them in his absence, their names should be

called over, that you may be satisfied none of them are absent.

To this grass gang may be joined such sickly negroes as it is necessary to keep in motion, and who are not well enough to do other work; for, by employing them in this way, and having your eyes frequently upon them, you are enabled to judge of their wants, and their progress towards a recovery, and to promote it by such diet and medicines as they stand in need of. It is of great advantage to introduce your young people early into habits of labour, as so much of it will be required from them in their future progress through life.

From this grass-gang drafts may be made annually, of such as have attained their ninth or tenth year, to add to your weeding gang, with which they may remain until they are fourteen or fifteen, when they are to be removed into the second gang, and afterwards, when they have attained to manhood, into the holing gang; so that you obtain a perpetual succession of recruits, gradually trained and habituated to labour, and fitted for every purpose whatever of the plantation.

If your estate be once well stocked with negroes, and proper care be taken that the women are encouraged during their pregnancy, and that their offspring are

not neglected and overlooked as unworthy to occupy your attention, you may reasonably hope not to stand in need of any further purchases, as I have already observed in the last chapter; but, if you should be obliged to have recourse to the Guinea-yard, you will find it for your interest to choose small negroes. The smallest should be placed with the grass gang; those of larger growth, with the weeding gang; and the men and women, if you buy any of them, should work with the second gang; and, on no account, exact from them the rudest labours of the plantation, until they are adequately prepared for it by time and habit.

Should any of your new negroes appear harrassed by their exertions, which you will soon perceive if you are attentive to them, as you ought to be, you will put them into the weaker gang, where less effort is required, and there suffer them to remain, until their recovered strength enables them to resume their former station.

By thus working your negroes in divisions, you will find a great advantage; as, by equalizing their exertions to their powers, and having them more under the eyes of your driver, you will have more work done; for, where they work in large bodies, they are never so well attended to, but slip aside

unobserved, or are longer absent on their necessary occasions than they ought to be. It cannot, however, be concealed, that it will give you somewhat more trouble, as you will have separate rolls to call over, and your attention will be more divided. You must expect also, that your negroes, from a constant desire of sparing themselves, will, under different pretexts, be for changing their divisions, and taking a station where they are required to do less, as you will find them all desirous of doing no more than they can avoid. You must necessarily check these attempts, unless you are satisfied that there is a real necessity for indulging them, by such evidence of their impaired strength, as you can no longer doubt.

These divisions of your negro force may not only take place when you are out of the crop, but in some measure in it, though there is no labour during that season, which is very oppressive to any of them, except the night work about the mill and boiling-house, which, if it cannot be altogether dispensed with, as in large estates, where much sugar is made, is the case, should be assigned to the ablest negroes of your gang, who will take it in turn to work in spells; but the attendance of these spells should never be so far prolonged, as to disallow of their taking a few hours rest every night, as they can ill bear a long privation of sleep, and, under

such circumstances, will doze at the mill or the coppers, to the great danger of their fingers, if not of their lives.

As to the weaker negroes, they should never do any night-work; and, in order to reconcile the others, upon whom the labour will fall, to such an indulgence, which will appear unjust and partial, you must make it up to them in one way or other, either by suffering them to remain in their houses later in the morning, or by some additional food, or, if that be not wanted, by extraordinary clothing, which will in general go a great way towards the pacifying of them.

The business of a boiler, during the crop, I consider as the most unhealthy of any to which a negro can be applied, and yet so fond are they of heat, and of the privileges of the boiling-house, which comprise an unlimited use of hot liquor and sugar, that it is pretty generally coveted. The remark must have occurred to every body, that they are peculiarly subject to the mal d'estomach and dropsical swellings. If you select a new negro, whose form of body and activity promises a subject well adapted to the coppers, and place him there, without remission, for a crop, it is fifty to one that he falls into those disorders, either before it is at an end, or

soon after, upon the approach of the rainy season; and if he is not hurried out of the world by the complaint, as many of them are, he will be very long in recovering his former state of health.

To obviate this effect, if you are obliged to make use of your new negroes for that service, by the want of old ones more proper for it, you should be careful not to let them remain there longer than a day or two at a time, then relieve them by others, and work them in the field, or at the mill, for a longer interval, before they return again to the boiling-house. If you perceive any disposition in them to swell, either in the legs, or the face, you will keep them out of it altogether, until those symptoms have disappeared. Indeed, you will find not only your new negroes, but also the seasoned ones, and even creole-boilers, subject to the same complaint, by a long continuance at the coppers; therefore, if you have not negroes enough to spell them regularly, you must at least relieve such as shew signs of indisposition, and let them be as little as possible at that work. Some negroes seem to have been adapted to it by nature, and will endure being kept at the coppers throughout the season without any injury; but there are not many who are so happily organised. Those with sores on their

legs should not be permitted to approach the coppers on any account, if there is a possibility of replacing them by others.

The carrying of cane-trash, or, as it is called, woura, for fewel to the copper-holes, to a late hour of the night, as practised on many plantations, is also very hurtful to the negroes, and should be avoided, as it may be easily enough, where there is magoss on the estate to serve the same purpose, and to burn under the clarifiers and the stills: if there be no wood, coals may be usefully substituted. If the estate be only at a reasonable distance from the shipping-place, so as to admit of their easy cartage, I am persuaded it would be more advantageous, in point of economy, to use coals than wood, particularly in time of peace, when the freight is reasonable; for the expense of collecting and transporting of the wood, unless the estate is encumbered with it, will be equivalent to the expense of the coals, which, besides, form a better fewel for the purpose. But if the estate be too remote to admit of its being supplied with coals, and it is at the same time destitute of wood, the number of negroes should be so increased, as to allow of their transporting the woura in the day time. If a small gang were to be assigned to that

service, it would not be amiss. The same observation may apply also to the conveyance of the canes, either on the backs of mules, or in carts, for both the negroes and the stock will suffer more by two or three hours labour in the night, than by twice that time in the day, and the work besides is never so well done.

In turning out in the morning, it is usual to prepare your negroes by the plantation bell, which, by the carelessness of the watchman, or by the difficulty of distinguishing between the light of the moon, and the first approach of the morning, is rung an hour or two earlier than it ought to be. This you should prevent, by directing it not to be rung until the twilight is very well ascertained.

It is on their first turning out in the morning, that negroes are most susceptible of cold, and then it is that a warm waistcoat is of the greatest use to them.

Women, who have sucking children, must be permitted to remain in their houses an hour later than the other negroes.

At breakfast, it is customary to indulge the gang with an half hour, which is rather taken as an intermission of labour, than for a meal, as negroes seldom apply it to that purpose, yet it is too salutary a

practice to be discontinued; for it is a loss of time, that will easily be repaired by their invigorated efforts. Those who have infants, should be allowed an hour to repair to the nursery to give them the breast.

At noon, they must have full two hours, before they are summoned to throw their grass; and at night, if out of crop, they retire from the field with the sun.

The hours allotted to labour are, certainly, not too many for a well supported negro; nor are they too few, for if they are in flesh, health, and good spirits, you will find their tasks advance to your satisfaction, and without injury to themselves.

Every means should be taken to ease their labour as much as possible. Their instruments of tillage, which indeed are only two, viz. the hoe and the bill, should be kept well sharpened, and in good order. This is a point which is too often neglected, sometimes from the want of thought, sometimes from an ill-judged economy, for a hoe, worn down, and deprived of its steel, by long use, or an original defect in the temper of the metal, loses much of its capacity for execution, and having a blunt battered edge, requires, proportionally, greater efforts to penetrate the ground to a due depth. The price of

a new hoe is soon lost in the excess of the labour, therefore one should be supplied whenever wanted. The same may be said of the bill, or the cutlass. They must be frequently examined by the overseer, to see if they have a proper edge, and, if they want it, they must go to the grindstone.

It is a fundamental maxim in rural economics, from which you should never depart, as well for the benefit of your purse, as for the ease of your negroes, that human power should never be applied to do that which can be effected by brutes, and that brutes should not do that which can be accomplished by machinery. Upon that principle, whenever you can use the plough to prepare and divide the soil, you ought to do so, without being discouraged by the unsuccessful attempts of many who have preceded you in their experiments, and failed, probably, from a want of a due attention to the detail, or from being too easily rebuffed by first difficulties, which are generally experienced in new undertakings. If many have failed, enough have succeeded, to warrant other estates to bring the plough into more general use. It is, however, to be observed, that numerous are the situations which, abounding with stones, or the roots of trees, or from the inequality of their surface, will not admit of that useful in-

strument. Wherever carts can be drawn with ease, burthens should never be imposed on the backs of mules; nor should negroes be required to do that which mules or horses can bear on their backs.

This policy of saving human labour, which is so obvious, certainly obtains on most estates, whilst on others, it is observed only in part, and on some, totally neglected; for there are Planters, who still continue to head their canes to the mill, and to carry out manure to places where mules, if not carts, might travel with ease.

Whilst your negroes are engaged at their work, every encouragement should be held out to them to divert themselves with songs, or with coarse sallies of ribaldry, or of wit, with their jibes, or their jokes, which they are fond of discharging on each other, and sometimes on their master, or the white servants of the plantation. This licence may very well be permitted, for it pleases them, and ought to please you; for where the mind is diverted, labour advances apace.

To one point you ought particularly to attend, and never let it escape from your memory, that a negro is an instrument, which requires to be incessantly acted upon to the performance of its duty. Whenever work is to be done, your white servants

ought to see that it is done, and not to satisfy themselves with giving orders to the negroes, and trusting to their memories for the execution; for it is ten to one but they forget it, and by that means incur your displeasure; and it is certainly, in all cases, more pleasant to prevent an offence, than to punish the commission of it. The neglect of this rule is the occasion of many severities, which, with a little attention, might easily be avoided.

Upon this principle, your watchmen should be frequently visited by the overseer, that they may be kept alert to their duty. If you neglect them at their posts, their posts will be neglected. Fences will be destroyed, canes will be broken, transgressions will accumulate, and punishment will ensue; but punishment is a mere vindictive comfort; it saves nothing, it obviates nothing, not even a repetition of the offence. That salutary end is infinitely better obtained by vigilance, than by the whip, or any other mode of correction.

The picking of grass, in situations where it is not abundant, is a labour more felt and regretted by the negroes, than others much more severe; yet, as the cattle must be fed, it would be advisable to assign a certain portion of land to the production of

Guinea grass. A little sacrifice of interest is better than a great one of negro comfort.

Where negroes labour, with collective strength, to surmount an obstacle, such as the dragging of timber, or the raising of heavy weights, their number should be adjusted so as to do that with ease, which, otherwise, they can accomplish only with great effort, and a loss of time, more than equivalent to the numerical saving. This position may be exemplified in the case of four mules, harnessed to the sweeps of a cattle-mill, whose force being below their work, they stop frequently, kick, and plunge, and, at last, do in three hours with difficulty, that which would have been done with six mules in two hours with ease.

In transporting timber from one place to another, negroes universally prefer the putting it on their heads, or their shoulders. This practice is a very dangerous one, and should never be permitted; accidents innumerable having happened from it in the dislocation of their necks, or some other great injury, by a slip or fall of one of the bearers, or by their suddenly relieving themselves from their burthen, without due precaution. When timber is to be carried that is too heavy for one negro, it

should always be supported on staves, and carried underhand.

It were to be wished, that negroes could be kept altogether from working in the rain; but circumstances do not admit of it, in a climate where squalls are frequent, their approach rapid, and their duration momentary: they must necessarily be exposed to them, and, happily, they are not very injurious, and would be still less so, there is reason to think, if a practice, contrary to that which now prevails, were to take place.

On the appearance of a shower, negroes put on their clothes, and stand still while it pelts them. They should be taught to labour most on such occasions, to keep their clothes dry, and to put them on when the rain is over. This is a doctrine which they would not very well relish, and there may be some difficulty in reconciling them to it; but the practice is a rational one, and the advantages to be expected from it are considerable. By a little address, however, it may be carried into effect. It is not harder to labour in rain, than in sunshine and dry weather; on the contrary, for the heat is at that time less, and, by keeping in motion, not only the work advances, but the negroes are prevented from suffering a temporary chill. If the rain be

heavy, and of long continuance, the negroes should be recalled from the field, and employed about the works.

As seldom as possible should dung be removed when wet; for in that state, to its own weight, is superadded that of the water, perhaps equally great, and the negroes will be vexed by the drippings from their baskets. In dry weather, and when the dung is dry, a negro will carry twice as much of it, and with more ease to himself, than in other circumstances. At that time they may be required to fill their baskets, and they will be less harrassed by the excess of weight, than by the fatigue of walking.

It will occur to the reader, that the division of negroes, which I have recommended above, can take place with much advantage only in large gangs of three or four hundred. The principle, however, may be applied with good effect to much smaller ones, though the number of divisions should be diminished to three, or two, as circumstances shall require. You will find among your negroes some, who, from diseases, defects of constitution, or perverseness of temper, cannot be incorporated with either of the divisions for field labours, who yet

may be fit for something; and it is your business to discover what that is, and to adapt their stations to their qualities and talents. You may try them as tradesmen, watchmen, or stock-keepers, in one of which departments, they may possibly supply the place of more effective negroes. One who will perpetually run away from the field, may yet make a very trusty watchman; if not that, he may be a vigilant stock-keeper, and perhaps, after a lapse of years, he may change his habit, and become a good field negro.

The dispositions of negroes should be considered no less than their powers, in the kinds of work to which they are applied.

A man drunk is at least a fool, if not a madman, and, in the extravagance of his intoxication, he commits crimes, from which he would at other times start with abhorrence. This should make you particularly careful to keep your negroes as much as possible from the use of spirituous liquors.

CHAPTER VIII.

On Discipline.

THIS term embraces two meanings, the one, more comprehensive, includes the rules which direct the conduct of one, in subjection to another; the other, the punishment annexed to the breach of these rules. Discipline is, therefore, either directive, or corrective; but as they have a natural relation, I shall here consider them together.

A slave being a dependant agent, must necessarily move by the will of another, which is incessantly exerted to control his own: hence the necessity of terror to coerce his obedience.

It is, therefore, by the gross operation of fear, or the dread of punishment, that negroes are wrought upon to action; for love doth little, and shame less,

and to produce that effect, a system of remuneration alone is inadequate, for the reward must be ever incommensurate to the service, where labour is misery, and rest, happiness.

However, though rewards may not be sufficient to supersede the necessity of punishment, they may, nevertheless, be employed to conciliate a better temper of mind, and to engage your slaves to do that with alacrity, which, being under an indispensable necessity of doing, they would otherwise perform with murmur and reluctance.

A negro who does his duty, or rather, who obeys your orders to your satisfaction, should always be distinguished by some mark of favour; smiles, praises, and encouraging words, that cost nothing, and occasional presents out of your stores, either of eatables, or of clothing, that cost but little, may be distributed with advantage, as they put them in good humour, both with you and themselves. From their gratitude you are not to hope much, the relation subsisting between the master and the slave forbids it, nor is there any principle on which you have a right to form such an expectation; whatever you exact from them being an usurpation on their natural rights; yet, there have not been wanting in-

stances of attachment from slaves to their masters, which have astonished the world, and disposed it to think favourably of the principles of negroes.

There might be something of truth in this idea, if it were observed where such instances of heroic fidelity have occurred, that the treatment of the slave had been marked with particular indulgence; but that, so far from being uniformly the case, on the contrary, it hath but too frequently been found, where the reins of authority have been relaxed to a degree equivalent to an emancipation, that the principles of the slaves have been the most profligate, and their adherence to the interest of their owners more loose than where a contrary conduct has been observed. The history of the revolt in St. Domingo, and of every other revolt elsewhere, exemplifies that remark.

This must undoubtedly have arisen from a defect of moral sentiment, not easy to be acquired in a state which hath hitherto admitted but little of intellectual culture; for religion hath instructed them in none of the finer theories of duty. If it restrains from positive crimes, it effects as much as can reasonably be expected from it.

Negroes should be so well treated, as not to be

compelled to transgress by the urgency of their wants; in which case, your discipline cannot be too exact, for you will find even the happiness of your slave to depend on a regular maintainance of your authority. You cannot resign him to the guidance of his own discretion, but, like a soldier in the ranks, he must be a mere machine, without either will or motion, other than you impress upon him.

The basis of this discipline must consist in accustoming your negroes to an absolute submission to orders; for if you suffer them to disobey in one instance, they will do so in another; and thus an independence of spirit will be acquired, that will demand repeated punishment to suppress it, and to re-establish your relaxed authority. You should, therefore, lay it down as a rule, never to suffer your commands to be disputed; and, at the same time, you should take care to give none but what are reasonable and proper; for negroes are penetrating enough into the foibles of their masters. If you have any, you should conceal them, and endeavour, by all means, to impress them with a good opinion of your temper and judgment.

If your negroes are properly managed, as recommended in the preceding chapters, you will have the pleasure of finding their offences comparatively very

few, a great part of those which they commit, proceeding from a penury of food, and exhausted strength, which leads them to pilfer, and to skulk from their labours. Negroes, however, like other human beings, possess diversities of temper, and the best treatment you can give them, will not always prevent them from offending to a degree that will call for chastisement.

The corrective discipline, or punishment, usually employed on an estate at present, is either stripes, chains, confinement, or all of them together, and, in extreme cases, banishment; upon each of which, I shall bestow a few observations, commencing with the most common one, the whip.

Sorry am I to say, that by much too frequent use hath been made of this instrument; and that it is often employed to a degree which, by inducing a callosity of the parts, destroys their sensibility, and renders its further application of little avail. It is not unusual to arm the negro drivers with it, and to leave the use to their discretion; of course it is administered, neither with impartiality, nor judgment; for it is generally bestowed with rigour on the weakest negroes of the gang, and on those who are so unfortunate as not to be in favour of this sub-despot; and that too fre-

quently on any part of the naked body, or the head, whilst the more able negroes, who sometimes deserve it, escape with impunity. Now, as this cannot easily be prevented while the whip remains in such hands, I would propose to banish it entirely from the field, and to allow the driver to carry thither only a small stick, or switch, and that rather as an ensign of authority, than as an instrument of correction, as, I am informed, hath been practised on some estates in Barbadoes; but if the driver be still permitted to retain the whip, it should be under a strict injunction not to make use of it, without your special order, or that of your overseer.

As something, however, must be done to keep your negroes at their business, and to maintain the discipline of the field, I would propose the substituting of another mode of punishment. Upon the complaint of your drivers against any of your negroes, for turbulence of behaviour, or neglect of their work, let the offenders be kept in the field, and obliged to labour a quarter, or half an hour, or an hour, after the others have left it, under the direction of another driver, who is to be charged with that occasional superintendance. This is a mode of punishment much more severe than a few stripes from the whip, whilst to you, it will be more pro-

fitable, as it redeems to advantage the time lost by their former remissness.

By this means, you will find your field-work proceed to your satisfaction, without the interposition of a whip. As to such negroes who really lag at their tasks from indisposition, or any other bodily infirmity, which you will soon discover if you are well acquainted with your gang, they are entitled to indulgence, and should by no means be impelled to exertion; though, if you work them in divisions, according to their respective powers and abilities, as before proposed, they will not stand in much need of such an allowance.

The neglect of grass-picking, is another frequent cause of punishment: on some estates it draws more stripes upon the negroes, than all their other offences put together, as the lash seldom lies idle, while the grass-roll is calling over. It is to be lamented that this work is so essential, as not to be entirely dispensed with; for, as it is to be performed when the negroes are retired from the field, and no longer under the eye of the overseer, or the driver, it is apt to be neglected. Besides, it encroaches much on the time allotted to their own use, and even after they have, with much trouble, picked their bundles, they are frequently stolen from them by more artful and

less industrious negroes, and their excuses, however just, are seldom admitted to extenuate their default. To obviate, therefore, as much as possible, the necessity of imposing this vexatious task, I would advise, that, wherever there are vacant spots on the plantation, they should be planted with some of the artificial grasses, of which, the Guinea-grass, now so well known in the islands, seems to be the best adapted to our climate. Two or three negroes, that are superanuated for more active services, kept entirely to the planting, weeding, cutting, and distributing the grass to the stock, would save both yourself and your field negroes much trouble. However, where there is no waste ground that can be assigned to that use, or, at least, not to an extent sufficient to supersede the necessity of picking the natural grass out of the hedges, or the cane-pieces, the quotas, which the negroes are assessed, ought not to be so rigourously exacted from them. They who default but seldom, should be overlooked, whilst they who offend more frequently, should only be compelled to repair their neglect by bringing a double quantity at the next call. In general they would do so, and you would profit more by the fine than by the punishment, and your negroes would escape the whip, which is too intemperately employed on this

occasion, as on others; but the misfortune is, it is always at hand, and therefore supplies the readiest means of punishing; for the overseer, having such a summary mode of balancing offences, never thinks of any other, which demanding foresight, and taxing his recollection, would engage him in a more complex system of government.

Running away is another offence of a deeper die than the former, and is generally punished with a very severe whipping, to which are added chains, and confinement to notorious offenders. This offence arises from a variety of causes, but most commonly, from a dread of the whip; frequently to avoid labour, and sometimes from habit, where no other possible reason can be assigned. The same habit of desertion prevails among the European soldiery, who quit one standard to join another, without any evident motive, or subsequent benefit, as they exchange dangers, and superadd another, having almost a certainty of being either hanged or shot, if retaken by the ranks from which they deserted.

The dread of the whip being the most common cause of the desertion of negroes, that terror should be removed as far as possible from their imaginations; and, in consequence, you may expect, if they disappear from their work, that their absences will be

short. In this case, you will pardon them altogether, generously, and with good humour, if they transgress but rarely; if otherwise, you will punish them by an extra task at hours, when the other negroe shave quitted their work, and are retired from the field; or when a holiday arrives, instead of suffering them to partake of it with the rest of your gang, you may keep them confined. This mode of punishment will operate much more effectually in preventing them from running away, than the application of a hundred lashes, which, on the contrary, rather exasperates the evil, by disposing them to repeat the offence.

Some negroes, however, will not only abscond, without any assignable cause, or provocation, but will continue absent as long as they can, until they are retaken, and brought home. These offenders must be punished, but rather exemplarily than with a view to their reformation, as they do not often reform, when they are once established in the habit, unless they are children, or young people, and they are frequently reclaimed by proper treatment, from this vice (as we may so call it) as they advance into years. Still the whip is not the kind of punishment that should be employed for that purpose; confinement has a much better effect than stripes. That

their labour may not be lost to the plantation, they should be given in charge to a more faithful negro, who is to conduct them to the field, and never to lose sight of them when there, or when they quit it until they are brought back again, and secured in the hospital, or some other place of safety, of which there should be one appropriated to that purpose on every plantation. This practice at least secures their labour, and prevents them from running away, so long as it is continued; but it has sometimes a more durable effect, when persevered in for any considerable length of time, and breaks them altogether of the habit; for, as was before observed, it is frequently habit, or an involuntary tendency, to repeat an accustomed action, that determines their movements; therefore, if they are long prevented from indulging that disposition, by external restraint, they may, in time, lose their muscular propensity, and contract a better habit of remaining at home.

Some pretty notorious runaways may be kept on the plantation by a very light chain, or thin collar encircling their necks, so light, as scarcely to incommode them at all, yet effectual for the purpose, as it marks their disgrace, and by pointing them out as persons of suspicious characters, facilitates their

recapture whenever they desert, and knowing this, they are lest apt to do so.

Such restraints may be employed with advantage; but, as neither this, nor the former mode of punishment, can be always continued, whenever the time comes for their cessation, in order still to preserve a tie on them, they are not to be entirely enlarged, but on the petition of some responsible negro, who will pledge himself for their future good behaviour; and, of course, will be interested by his engagement, to prevent them from going away, or if they do run away, to exert his endeavours to recover them.

Punishments, such as these, which do no injury to the person, and which tend more effectually than the harsher methods hitherto employed, to reform the vicious from their habits, or, at least, to secure their temporary services, may be adopted with great propriety, and the whip may be reserved for occasions where the enormity of the offence requires a variety of correction. In consequence of its being less frequently used, a better effect may reasonably be expected from it, for nothing tends so much to render negroes insensible to shame and to pain, as the abuse of the cart whip for every trifling fault. As

to that tremendous application of it, which confines the delinquent to the sick-house for five or six weeks, the offence ought to be very weighty indeed, that can call for, and justify it; for it is a severity, not more repugnant to humanity, than to good policy, there being a certain loss of the service of the negro for so long a time, besides the injury which his constitution may sustain by a long confinement in an uncomfortable position, with his body naked, and sometimes insufficiently nourished. In short, so many objections attend the cart-whip, and so few the advantages, that I begin to entertain a doubt, whether it may not be totally rejected from plantation discipline; but certainly its use may be restricted to a few cases, and even in those, it is probable that some other mode of correction may be substituted, that will equally well answer the purpose, without lacerating the flesh, and disfiguring the body, which the whip is apt to do.

Other instruments of torture, such as heavy chains, puddings, and crooks, which were introduced in the less civilised days of our ancestors, and retained too long in ours by prescription, though seldom employed, must be condemned as unfit for any occasion or emergency whatever; as every purpose

which they are designed to answer may be better obtained without them; and they can never be used without great injury to the health of the negroes, as they cramp their efforts in the field, and, by pressing on the blood-vessels, prevent their contents from circulating freely, and bring on complaints of a dropsical nature. This is very evident to all who are conversant with negroes, as they generally swell when any of these instruments are continued for any length of time, though some negroes are so robust and hardy in their constitutions, as to resist their effects without injury.

As to the other means which I have heard of, but never witnessed, of exciting pain, I forbear to mention them, as they are in very uncommon use at the present day, if they are ever used at all. I imagine they are in little danger of being resumed, whatever the harsh severity of some individuals might incline them to, the public mind being pronounced to a just detestation of such enormities, and the existing laws sufficient to control them.

Neither do I mention the lighter punishments of disgrace. They should always be employed before rougher methods are resorted to; yet I am afraid they will not often be effectual. Minds uninstructed

are but little susceptible of shame; therefore, punishments of mere ignominy have nothing to work upon.

Whenever it happens, as it does sometimes, that all means of reforming your bad subjects prove ineffectual, and they still remain incorrigible, it is better to part with them, than to continue the contest any longer, to the bad example of the rest of your gang, and the perpetual irritation of your own temper. Occasions for selling them off the island sometimes occur, if not, they are to be sought for, and you should dispose of them for what they will bring; for, though it may be in your idea much short of their real value, it will be so much clear profit; for a negro, who is perpetually running away, will lose so much by his absences, and those of your negro hunters, who go in pursuit of him, as to bring you in debt, by premiums for his recapture, or fines for his depredations, so as to counterbalance all the services that you can possibly get out of him.

It is not unworthy of remark, that negroes of this description, who have been sold from the service of one master, and that a good one, into that of another in a different island, have sometimes left their vices behind them, and turned out valuable slaves;

for which change, no other reason can be assigned, than that dissolving of their old connexions, and another train of thinking, and other modes of habit, superinduced by the new scenes and ideas, let into their minds; but this effect of transition is far from being very common, the qualities of negroes, like those of other people, adhering to them through all the changes of place and climate.

Cœlum non animum mutant.

Time, however, is more powerful, and produces more beneficial effects; for negroes slowly suffer a change, if they do not act one, and as they grow old, they get rid of many of their passions, and with them some of their vices, which rendered correction necessary, so that you may entertain hopes of their amendment to the latest period of their lives.

CHAPTER IX.

On Religion.

IT is pretty generally agreed, that religion, considered merely as matter of temporal concern, is of high importance to society, its object being to eradicate those propensities to crimes, the commission of which, it is the business of human laws to restrain by punishment. Its utility hath never been contested, though there have not been wanting declaimers, perhaps more vain than malignant, who, with petulent wit, have affected to question the basis on which it is founded.

But, if the influence of religion be great on those who are in a state of civilization, it is still more so on those who remain in mental darkness; for moral principles may exist in minds not firmly per-

suaded of religious truths, provided they have been expanded by instruction; but in those who are totally uninformed, we are to look only for such actions as result from the immediate impulse of the passions.

To such, therefore, religion if it can be brought to act at all, acts always to an useful end.

In this state of ignorance are found, the numerous inhabitants of that portion of the world, which administers to the slave-trade; for, excepting such of them who inhabit the north coast of Africa, where Mahometism has gained a footing, and in some parts to the southward, where Christianity hath made some feeble attempts to obtain one, all the rest are idolaters, whose vicious modes of worship, so far from restraining, rather exasperates the natural ferocities of the animal, and renders him more hostile to his own species.

In the sugar colonies, the negroes, who are more immediately the subject of these remarks, acquire, by their communication with the whites, a certain degree of intellection, that restrains them from many of the grosser enormities; but still, from the want of other rules of conduct than what are supplied by written laws, which operate no restraints, where they can be transgressed with impunity, it becomes

necessary to bring them to a knowledge of that invisible being, who superintends all their actions, and whose powers of punishment and reward, though postponed to another life, will inevitably meet them there.

Whether such a persuasion can be so induced in the minds of negroes, as to become an active principle of their conduct, and the rule of their lives, is a question which many have been disposed to decide in the negative; and their decision being founded on examples of negroes, who, though baptized and nurtured in religion, have, in very few instances, been found to act from its dictates. But the question ought not to be so hastily decided, nor should the attempt be abandoned in despair; for I believe it will be found, on a due course of experiment, that whatever religion hath done for the master, it is capable of doing also for the slave.

However humiliating the acknowledgment, it will be no scandal to say, that the principles of the inhabitants of the sugar colonies are more moral than religious; and that even towards their morality, the fear of shame, and the dread of punishment, contributes much, the advantages of an untainted character not a little. It is no injury to the colonists, to say so, because the same may be said of other

men, and I believe it will be found, on close a inquiry, that the morality of most people is rather legal than religious. But negroes are acted upon but weakly by these motives; for what can shame effect on an abased and degraded being? It cannot vilify him, he is as vile as he can be rendered by his condition; morality cannot exalt him greatly above his colleagues, and the dread of human law is overpowered by the hope of transgressing without discovery.

That the principles of negroes are susceptible of improvement by religion, has been long experienced by our neighbours the French, whose slaves are incomparably better disposed than our own. No person who has visited their islands can deny it. Other causes may have contributed to that effect besides their religion, for they are better clothed, and better fed, than the English negroes; therefore, being less under the stimulus of appetite, they have fewer provocatives to crime. Lately indeed, their conduct has been much relaxed, and they have fallen into great excesses, but that has been owing to a violent political convulsion, which even men of stronger minds were unable to resist, and into which, in many instances, they have been betrayed by the example of their masters.

Indeed, the probability of the good effects of religion hath not altogether escaped the minds of our own planters, for there have not been wanting some virtuous men among us, who, at various periods, have made attempts to impress their slaves with the ideas of Christianity: but those efforts were neither very general, nor long persisted in; being commenced without experience, perhaps with a zeal too languid for the end proposed, being accompanied with the ridicule of others of the society, who neither hoped nor wished their negroes to be better christians than themselves, and not followed with the immediate effect which impatience expected, the attempt was abandoned, under the persuasion, that negroes were beyond the possibility of a reform.

Further experience, however, has proved that this judgment was erroneous; for new attempts of the same nature have been made, with better success, by those who were more competent to the undertaking;—I mean the Methodists and Moravians.

These missionaries, in many instances, themselves but little elevated above the meanest class in society, supplying by the energies of zeal, the defect of education, have found means to attract to their lectures very numerous congregations, in many of the

islands, among whom are to be found, some proselytes, imbued with a true spirit of Christianity, so far as the penury of their faculties enable them to comprehend its dogmas. The greatest proof of this is exhibited in the regularity of their lives, their respect for their pastors, and their pecuniary contributions for their services; for religion, surely, must have made some progress in the minds of men who part voluntarily with their scanty stores, whilst we find so many, in this and other countries, who elude, by every art of chicane, the payment of legal ecclesiastical dues.

It is not to be mentioned, without regret, that these missionaries, who devote themselves to so arduous a task, in a climate universally found to be unfriendly to health, far, from receiving their establishments from the legislatures of the different islands, or meeting their rewards in the acknowledgments of individuals, have frequently to contend as much against the prejudices of the masters, as with the ignorance of their slaves; for it has been generally held, that their purpose is to disseminate rebellion among the negroes. This has been often asserted, and with confidence too great to be supposed to require any other evidence.

That men labouring in an arduous vocation under discountenance, frequently under derision and insult, should sometimes feel the irritations of nature, and, in the ardour of their resentment, inculcate precepts, such as have been imputed to them, is not indeed impossible; for, in human nature, there is a disposition prompt enough to avenge unmerited injuries, by such means as the sufferer possesses; but I know no well-attested instance of the crime, such as the charge implies, having actually happened; and I believe there is not on record a proof of any overt mischief having ensued from the incendiary labours of the missionaries. On the contrary, candour and justice both oblige me to say, that I look upon their services as being highly useful to the colonies.

We have seen them erect places of public worship out of the funds of the society at home, by whom they are subsisted, or with the eleemosynary contributions of their flocks, without any aid, as I before observed, from the colonial legislatures, where the holy service is performed with a due degree of solemnity and decorum, to congregations too numerous to be contained within their walls, all people of colour, decently dressed, who resort

thither from distant plantations, whenever a remission of labour admits of their absence*.

The consequence of these meetings has been very salutary, by their influence on the manners of the negroes, so as to render them less prone to theft and drunkenness, than they used to be; and, in no respect whatever, have I found them less obedient or laborious. If the number of real converts be not as yet very great, in proportion to the mass upon whom conversion is to act, it is not to be wondered at, when we consider the novelty of the undertaking, and the obstacles with which it hath been hitherto embarrassed; for these preachers have established their residence in the larger towns, and it

* I hope I have been misinformed in the following disgraceful anecdote, though coming to me from authority too respectable not to challenge some degree of belief. In one of our sugar islands, (which, for its credit, shall be nameless) the white inhabitants are without a church, or any place of regular public worship, and have been so for the last twenty years.

In one of the towns of that island, a very decent chapel was built by the missionaries, with the assistance of their well-frequented black congregations. One day, during the divine service therein, a party of persons, calling themselves gentlemen, mostly military, made a gallant attack upon the audience, and, after dislodging the minister from the pulpit, proceeded to other acts of outrage too scandalous to be detailed.

has been permitted, comparatively, but to few of the negroes to come within the sphere of their instruction. In order, therefore, to increase the effect, the number of agents should be multiplied, so as to enable them to extend their ministry over the whole of every island. Hitherto we have had only overseers of coercion on the bodies of our negroes, let us now supply them with ministers for the mind. The value of West-India possessions will very well bear us out in a little expense, to purchase so great a good, as the religious instruction of our negroes. If a person, of some ministerial character, were to be assigned to every two or three thousand of them, and the expenses were defrayed by their owners respectively, it could not, I am persuaded, but turn to a very valuable account; but there might be some difficulty, I acknowledge, in obtaining the proper agents for such a service.

Zeal, such as that which characterised the missionaries of old, and some few in the present days, is a quality not frequently to be found. It is an involuntary emotion of a spirit, previously disposed to enthusiasm, which comes not at will, but must be impressed by the immediate finger of the Divinity. We cannot, therefore, expect that such a number will be so specially gifted as may be ne-

cessary for our purpose; but an inferior portion of zeal may suffice, perhaps it may be dispensed with altogether, where the mind is honest, and the tongue possesses some powers of persuasion: agents, such as these, it may not be impossible to procure, by the intervention of those societies in England, who have hitherto gratuitously supplied them to the colonies. They are the properest persons to whom applications of that nature can be addressed, and there is no doubt of their embracing, with alacrity, the occasion of contributing, with all their endeavours, to the advancement of so pious a work, which they must justly consider as having originated with themselves. The selection and preparation of proper agents may be submitted to them. They will provide the best that are to be had; and, should it appear, on their arrival in the islands, that they are not possessed of all the qualities that might be desired for the mission, we may entertain the hope that a little experience will improve them; for it has been remarked, that by teaching others, men frequently learn themselves.

Their stipends should be such as to clothe, lodge, and feed them decently. They ought not to aspire to any thing beyond a subsistence; opulence must never be in their contemplation; if it is, and they

appear busied in means to obtain it, they must be dismissed as persons radically unfit for the conversion of slaves; for the idea of money, once admitted, will paramount in their minds, to the exclusion of every liberal purpose.

It is obvious that the person, who ministers in that capacity to your negroes, should never appear in the light of an instrument of oppression. It should be no part of his duty to urge them to their labour, or to superintend them in any of the processes of the plantation. He ought to shew himself to them only under the character of a mediator, or benefactor, and a moral guide.

During their short recesses from the toils of the field, he should visit them in their houses, enter into their interests, redress, if possible, their little grievances, solicit favours for them from the proprietor, or his manager, and intercede, where necessary, for a remission of punishment. With these claims to their confidence, he will not fail to possess it, and may at pleasure direct it, not only to the spiritual good of the slaves, but to the temporal benefit of the master*.

* Can there be a suspicion of his doing otherwise? Can the mind imagine an interest which a person so kindly treated

Longer lectures on their duties to God, their owners, and to each other, must be reserved for occasions when they are collectively assembled on Sundays, as they have then time enough to spare to receive them without subtracting from the hours of refection.

Their memories ought not to be overcharged, nor their imaginations confused, by abstract principles, and mysterious dogmas. But few precepts are necessary, and those such only as lead to a knowledge of their Creator, their Redeemer, the value of that principle, which is to exist after this life, and the means of obtaining its eternal happiness. The commandments, and every fundamental precept, which it is necessary to inculcate, should be committed to memory, and be frequently repeated; and as negroes have good ears, and a natural disposition to music, advantage should be taken of it, to instruct them in the Psalmody of the established church, or of the Methodists.

can have in abusing his influence over your negroes, and in instigating them to mischief? It is impossible! he could find it only in his vengeance, and where there is no cause for that, there can be no motive to action. The truth is, they have been decried, because not found essential to the manufactory of sugar.

I have frequently been much pleased, at hearing them chant forth their vespers in melodious strains, to the edification and delight of a surrounding audience.

The rites, which are of the greatest importance to negroes, are those of baptism and matrimony. Among the French, even new negroes, as soon as they were acquainted with the language, and had learned their catechism, which they were taught morning and evening, by some old negroes appropriated to that service, never failed to manifest an anxiety to become Christians. In this request, though made probably without an adequate idea of the import of the ceremony, they were indulged; and care was taken, at the same time, to give them for sponsors negroes of approved characters, who ever afterwards preserved a great influence over them. Parental authority itself was not so powerful as that which was conferred upon the godfathers and godmothers by baptism.

It is very desirable that negroes should be corrected of their propensities to polygamy, but extremely difficult to effect it; nature having supplied them with a portion of animal passion, not easy to be restrained to a particular object. The

French, however, found means to render matrimony a much more efficacious contract than could have been expected, considering the former habits of their slaves, and the corruptness of their own examples. To authorise the connexion, the consent of the owners of the slaves, together with that of the parents and sponsors, was necessary, and the ceremony itself was performed at the altar with the most imposing air of solemnity. By these means a band was formed, that held the parties pretty well together throughout their lives; though nature would sometimes resume her bias, and lead them into irregularities, that disturbed the peace of the plantation. This happened, however, much less frequently among the French, than among the English negroes, with whom the connubial knot is consent and consummation, held dissoluble at pleasure, and, of course, dissolved, when desire is sated by fruition, and the passion revives, in either of the parties, to another object. Every endeavour, therefore, should be used, in imitation of the French, to create a due reverence for the obligation.

Punishments, of a disgraceful nature, should attend its breaches, and rewards be bestowed upon

those who signalize themselves by a strict observance of its duties; for the issue of a connexion so formed, and preserved, generally turn out better principled than the offspring of such as live in a looser indulgence of their passions.

Yet, notwithstanding the utmost that can be effected by the Methodists and Moravians, or any other irregular instructors; (for, of the regular clergy I make no mention, seeing not only that nothing has been effected by them, but that very little has been attempted for the reformation of the negroes, since the first settlement of the colonies, to the present day) I am afraid it will be long before such an improvement will take place in the principles of our negroes, as was observable among those of the French. The reason of this is evident. Such of that nation, who first expatriated with a view to settlement in the colonies, carried with them, I believe, a much larger portion of piety, than what their successors at the present day are in possession of. Missionaries, from the different monastic orders, accompanied them in their emigration, and chapels for the purposes of devotion, were erected almost as soon as houses for them to dwell in. The first

negroes that were brought to them were so few in number, that not more than three or four were purchased by any one individual. To effect their conversion, the priests set themselves seriously to work; and the masters, being animated with the same zeal, at a time when zeal was more energetic than at present, and co-operating to the same end, the business was easily accomplished, and their negroes became much more sincere proselytes to Christianity, than those who were converted in any of the parts of Africa, where missions were established. As fresh supplies of negroes were imported, they were easily assimilated to the other converts, by the example of their own countrymen, whose language they understood, and the influence of the Romish ceremonies and spectacles, which are at once awful and imposing. They were gained no less by the eyes than by the ears, and the system of Christianity, which has ever since prevailed among the negroes in the French islands (for even now it is not quite extinct,) was established with great effect and little effort, religious precepts being counteracted neither by mockery, by hunger, nor intensity of labour, and the priests exerted their authority, then much respected, to restrain the severities to which the tempers of some individuals might incline them.

But the case of the British colonies is, at present, very different; and the business of conversion must proceed but slowly, where it is to act on the whole mass of slaves, the greater part of whom are not sufficiently acquainted with the language to comprehend the precepts that may be conveyed in it. Very diffusive benefit cannot, therefore, be expected from the undertaking to the present generation; but it will gradually extend; and we may indulge the hope, that another generation of creoles may be brought over to the belief—not indeed to the effect of being perfectly good christians, but to be somewhat of christians, and much better men than they now are,

PART THE SECOND.

Of the Sick.

THE management of negroes, when in health, having been discussed in the preceding part of this work, and such rules laid down, as there is reason to hope, will greatly tend to preserve them in that state; we will next proceed to consider the treatment of the sick; for the imperfections of their nature, in common with our own, subjecting them to indispositions, and their modes of life exposing them more to their attacks, no care of the Planter, however laudably exerted, can prevent his having many sick people on his hands.

It appears a little extraordinary, that, notwithstanding there have been at all times a great many gentlemen of professional abilities in the West

India islands, fully competent to the undertaking, yet none have devoted their pens very particularly to the subject of negro disorders. Town, Warren, Hillary, Bisset, Blane, Hunter, Mosely, Chisholme, and others, have written well on the diseases of the climate, and certainly have enlightened us as to their general nature; but their rules of treatment are much more applicable to the condition of the whites, who have all the advantages of good nursing, lodging, and medical attendance, than to that of our slaves, who possess none of them, at least, in an equal degree. Besides, there are many striking variations between the temperament, of the whites, and those of the negroes, sufficient almost to induce a belief of a different organization, which the knife of the anatomist, however, has never been able to detect.

The first variation is manifested in the different effects produced on the bodies of the two classes, by the agency of heat, which, even in the extreme, is so pleasant to the corporal sensations of a negro, and even necessary to his health, is intolerable to the whiter man, though a native of the climate. He pants for cooler air, sickens, fevers, and dies, from a long privation of it.

The next difference is observable in the effect of

fevers; for whilst it is notorious, that above nineteen out of twenty of the whites are carried off by them, very few negroes, not one in a hundred, die of that disorder, though they are at least as subject to feverish affections as the whites. An investigation of the cause of this phenomenon, would lead too far from our present purpose, and will, therefore, be reserved for its proper place.

The most nauseous drugs, unless of the emetic tribe, seldom ruffle the stomachs of negroes, or dispose them to vomit. Bark, they retain in almost any quantity, and their bowels resist the most drastic purges, without suffering much inconvenience. I have given, for the tape-worm, ten grains of calomel, and twenty-five of gamboge, to a constitution, which I had before found to be almost immoveable, without their occasioning one puke, or more than four or five motions of the belly. Blisters exercise but feeble powers of irritation; and there is reason to think that the sensibilities, both of their minds and bodies, are much less exquisite than our own; as they are able to endure, with few expressions of pain, the accidents of nature, which agonize white people. It is difficult to account for this otherwise than by supposing (which probably is the case) that animal sufferings derive a great part of their activity

from the operations of the intellect. If so, uncivilized man is not without his advantages, perhaps, equivalent to any that we enjoy. It is certainly a very great one, to be able to face death, the inevitable lot of all, as they do, not only without dismay, but with an indifference, which stoics have endeavoured in vain to affect. Not having been sublimed to the miseries of reflection, they do not start from the decrees of providence. No afflicting retrospects, or more distressing apprehensions of futurity, disturb their last moments. They eat and drink as long as nature intimates a desire. They dispose of their worldly goods by a short verbal testament, and sink to eternal rest, spectacles of instruction to the more cultivated man. Who, that beholds them at that awful moment, but must exclaim: Ah! happy ignorance! which forecloses of no future glory, which admits of every hope, and enables us thus to meet the inevitable decree of fate; how superior art thou to lettered pride! which magnifies miseries, and renders men wretched through the whole course of their lives, in the contemplation of the fatal instant, which is to sever them from existence, though it be only to yield up their souls into the hands of him from whom they were received!!

As to the disorders of negroes, they do not differ so much from our own in their qualities, as in their degrees of severity; there being none, that I know of, peculiar to either constitution, which may not be entertained by both, though they occur more frequently in the one than in the other. For instance, the different species of scrophula and leprosy, are found very often to attack the negroes, though but rarely the whites. The yaws also, which frequently prove fatal to the negroes, are seldom met with among the whites; and, though they are produced by contact, many of the lower class of white men, there is reason to imagine, have communication with contaminated females, who, nevertheless, escape their infection. On the contrary, venereal affections, which we all know to be a communicable disease, do not fail to manifest their effects on negroes, but in a degree infinitely less severe, even where art has not interposed for their relief.

It has been already observed, that fevers are the fatal disorders of the whites, and that negroes seldom die of them. But, as every man must die, in one way or other, their bowel complaints are proportionally more fatal, so that the two varieties of men seem to pass out of life by two different outlets;

the one by fluxes, and the other by fevers, which, if we could find means to escape in the West-Indies, we should bid fair, if not for immortality, at least, for very long lives, which few attain at present.

But, though the principal disorders in the West Indies are fevers and fluxes, and those, by which death usually accomplishes his business, we are, nevertheless, occasionally visited by all that are to be found in the European catalogues; though their invasions are more mild, and their continuance of shorter duration.

Sorry am I, that the subject requires me to say, that no part of negro management has been more neglected, or erroneously performed, than that which regards the treatment of the sick. I have seen many slaves, that were compelled to persevere at their work, who ought to have been in the hospital. This may have arisen, sometimes from the impatience of the master to advance his work, but, I believe, much more generally, from the difficulty which he is under, of distinguishing real from affected illness; for, when labour presses, all would be ill, to escape the field; and it is not at all times in the power of the doctor to discover the imposition. If the complaint be well ascertained, no man would

refuse to permit his slave to lie down; but even in that case, there is still much to condemn; for, where negroes are labouring in the hospital under severe complaints, they are not commonly attended to as they ought to be. It is true, a nurse is at hand, and a doctor is perhaps sent for, to do all that medicine ought in such circumstances. When this is done, the manager thinks he has acquitted himself of his duty, and expects the event with frigid indifference, or with an interest proportioned only to the value of the slave. But he ought to recollect, that the doctor is not present to see all that he recommends administered, and that the nurse is frequently ignorant, and generally inattentive to her charge; indeed, what nurse is otherwise, longer than while the eyes of the master or mistress is upon her? If they are satisfied, she cares not for the consequences; for negroes, who feel but little for themselves, feel still less for others. The master, therefore, to do his duty well, and profitably, must do a great deal more. I have found it so upon long experience, having bent my mind very particularly to the subject, and having always had a great many new negroes, I never failed to have many sick ones; yet, by taking their complaints in season, and by properly attending to them myself, or some of my

white family, trusting as little as possible to the nurses, I lost so many fewer than my neighbours, that, comparing my success with theirs, I had reason to think my cares very amply rewarded, even pecuniarily; but, independent of the profit attending their recovery, I had another gratification, upon which I also set some value.

I do not intend, by any means, to insinuate, that my greater success arose from any superiority which I possessed in point of medical skill, as, in that respect, there were many gentlemen who practised in the profession, and were solely occupied in prescribing for the sick, who must necessarily have had advantages far greater than any that I possessed, if not from original education, at least from extensive practice, and undivided attention. What I did, any other gentleman, of ordinary capacity, after a twelvemonth's attention to his sick-house, with the example of the doctor, and the aid of a few medical writers, might do equally well; for though, in general, human maladies are so numerous, and in their symptoms and combinations so diversified, as to demand many years of previous study, and subsequent experience, to qualify a man to act as a professor of the art, a much more limited acquaintance with it, might enable him to

prescribe for his own negroes, whose complaints are comparatively very few, and those so analogous, as to require no great powers of discrimination. Fluxes, as I said before, and dropsies, being almost the only disorders which he will have to encounter; and their symptoms being so obvious, he must be destitute of mind indeed, who cannot acquire, in that time, all that it is requisite for him to learn, to ascertain the nature of these complaints, and the methods proper to be pursued for their removal. If their symptoms are few, so also are the appropriate remedies; there not being more than a dozen that are absolutely necessary for both disorders.

If gentlemen, or those who have the charge of large estates, with numerous gangs of negroes, were to dip more frequently than they now do, into such medical books, as contain practical precepts for the cure of tropical diseases, they would certainly reap some benefit from their studies. They need not be discouraged by the difficulty of the undertaking, for much may be acquired out of a college, by the aid of written instruction; and a Planter has a great advantage over other people, for the hospital of an estate presents him with daily

occasions to exemplify the rules which he learns from his books. Indeed, there is a necessity for the manager of negroes to possess some more knowledge of this kind than other people, as he has many lives committed to his care, for which he is, in some measure, responsible; and a doctor is not to be had at all times, or his distance may be so great, as to disallow of his visits being repeated so often as the occasion requires; therefore, a negro may be lost whilst you wait for counsel.

In advising gentlemen to direct a little of their attention to the science of medicine, I do not mean to engage them in the speculative part of it; that may be left to the professors of the art, whose reputations depend, in some measure, upon their ability in framing plausible systems, which others acquire as much fame in demolishing. The practice of the art is quite another thing; for whatever visions are emitted from the fancies of ingenious men, that still remains pretty much the same, and has invariably done so, through successive generations, from the days of Hippocrates to the present time.

It is further to be observed for your encouragement, that you need not be deterred from the exercise of your talents, by the apprehension of com-

mitting mistakes: a little mal-practice is common enough, even to those who are most familiar with the art, and yet death doth not always ensue. Nature struggles hard for life, and, in her efforts to preserve it, rectifies many more of their errors than we are aware of, or they will acknowledge.

Let it not, however, be understood, when I recommend gentlemen to qualify themselves to treat the common disorders of their negroes, and when I present them with the following rules to assist them in that undertaking, that I mean to supersede the necessity of calling in other advice; and that they should trust so entirely to their own skill, as to deem it unnecessary to resort to that of others, who have been regularly educated to the business. I know medicine too well to give any such injurious counsel. In an affair of so much moment as that of life and death, the best advice that can be had, should certainly be procured; and as no private gentleman can be supposed so capable of judging of disorders, as those who are in the daily habit of contemplating them in various aspects; it will still be necessary to call in to your assistance some medical person; of course, we find it very common to engage the attendance of one, either at an annual salary, or occa-

sionally, in cases of emergency. This latter practice is to be coudemned; for emergencies requiring such an attendance, must occur so frequently on every plantation, within the course of the year, as to render it either a very expensive, or a very ineffectual mode of doing your business; for, if a doctor is called whenever an occasion seems to require, you will have a bill, at the end of the year, to a much larger amount than the salary demanded for his annual attendance, or you must suffer many urgent cases to go unattended, that you may save the expense; and, indeed, this we find to be the case; for, when the doctors are employed by the job, they are rarely called upon until the patient is at the extremity, when there is but little prospect of the best advice being effectual; and, notwithstanding all that parsimony can effect, it is seldom, at the end of the year, that there is any considerable saving. On the contrary, it more frequently happens, that the doctor's bill is larger than it would have been, if he had been engaged to attend the estate at a specific salary, or at so much per poll, which would entitle you to his service regularly once or twice a week, as well as occasionally, whenever called upon to any negro who is alarmingly in-

disposed. It is, therefore, a most criminal parsimony, to withhold from your negroes the benefit they may receive from superior advice, until it be too late for them to profit by it, for the paltry saving of a few pounds in your plantation expenses, supposing that a few pounds are to be saved; but that, I will venture to say, is far from being the case, if a man acquits himself of his duty to his negroes. If he overlooks that indeed, and is determined to have an apothecary's bill, of short amount, he certainly may: but the consequence will be, the death of many negroes, who might have been saved, or if not their death, at least, their confinement for a longer term than was necessary, if proper advice and remedies had been resorted to in time. But, after all, what is the doctor's charge of one or two hundred pounds currency a year, when compared to the loss of even one valuable slave, and the loss of their services within the twelvemonth, which may be generally inferred, though impossible to be correctly calculated? '

I must therefore urge it, upon the economy of gentlemen, as well as upon their consciences, never to think of employing a medical man by the job, instead of by the year; for the latter is undoubtedly

the cheapest way: at the same time, the purchase would be cheap, were it only for the tranquillity which it insures, in exonerating you from a responsibility that must press heavily on the mind of every man, who either withholds assistance from his negroes altogether, or undertakes to administer it out of his own scanty store of science. The object of a Planter ought not to be, to have his business done cheaply, but done well; and though you have taken ever so much pains to acquire the knowledge necessary for the treatment of your negroes, you should consider yourself only as a supplement to the doctor, to whom you must resort on the first appearance of difficulty; and whose orders you should see observed. There will be scope enough for the exercise of your own skill, in the subordinate character which you are to act in the sick-house, in ordinary cases, in prescribing and compounding, when the doctor is absent, or the case is too light to engage his attention; and in superintending the conduct of your nurses, who will certainly neglect their duty, if you fail in yours. In short, the care of your sick negroes, if attended to as they ought to be, will create some expense, and give you a great deal of trouble; for which, however, I promise that you will be richly indemnified in the advantages reaped

by the recovery of negroes, who would otherwise have perished, as they daily do, when abandoned to the ordinary treatment of the sick-house: and you will have the comfort of reflecting, when they do die, that you have not been accessary to the event, either by your negligence, or too officious activity.

The premium given for the annual service of the doctor, differs, from six to ten shillings per head, in different islands, according as the faculty are more or less abundant, or the labour of attendance, from the practicability of the country, is greater, or less. I have heard it asserted by many, that the smallest of those sums is too much; a niggard sentiment! from which, I differ so greatly, as to think, even the largest too little, where the duty is properly fulfilled. It is money hardly earned; for the business of attending the sick is laborious, and unpleasant enough every where, but more particularly so in the West Indies, under the fervor of a meridian sun, where the climate is so inimical to health, that gentlemen of the profession are frequently obliged to practice at the hazard of their lives, under indispositions, that would confine others to their beds. We are startled at the exorbitancy of their fees; and, to say the truth, they do appear frequently very large; yet they are, in fact, much smaller than what are paid,

not only to the professors of law, but to every common mechanic, when considered relatively to European prices; but, in order to be convinced that they do not charge more than they ought to do, we have only to carry our view to the end of their labours, when death closes the scene, and we shall find that, instead of accumulating and transmitting to their families considerable fortunes, not one in ten leaves any fortune at all; happy if he could but subsist with decency, whilst mechanics, and managers of the lowest education, slide rapidly into independence.

But, whatever be the premium given to the doctor, he should be engaged under the condition of attending at all times when required; besides his stated times of visiting, and in all cases, whether medical, surgical, or of midwifery, that you may not be tempted to postpone having recourse to advice, from a reluctance to pay the fee, which, in extraordinary cases, is pretty considerable, but would be small, if previously so arranged by contract.

Besides the doctor, it will be proper for you to have a sensible negro man instructed in bleeding, and in the drawing of teeth, in the spreading of plasters, and the dressing of sores, in weighing and compounding of common drugs, which will save

you a great deal of trouble, though you should be qualified to do these things yourself; for, in an unhealthy season, if your gang of negroes be a large one, the care of it will demand the whole of your attention. When I say you should have a negro so instructed, I do not impose upon you a difficult task, for any sober, intelligent creole, or other negro, who is not too far advanced in years, may, with a very few lessons, which the doctor, for his own ease, will readily impart, learn how to use the lancet. As to the extraction of teeth, that also may be acquired, by a little instruction from one who already possesses the art; by observing the manner in which it is effected, and by practising on the jaw of some dead animal, first freed from the covering, and afterwards with the skin and flesh on, before he proceeds to operate on the living subject. It should, however, be with an express injunction, not to attempt any tooth that is difficult to be got at, or where it is corroded to the gum, so as to oblige him to apply the instrument in a manner to endanger the jaw bone. Negroes, being rash and adventrous, stand in need of this caution, and must be frequently admonished of the consequences, and restrained from going further than they ought to do. That neither of those arts

are very difficult to be acquired, we have seen, in the example of some benevolent old ladies, who have condescended to administer their assistance, not only to their own negroes, but to others, who thought proper to submit to their operations.

It is usual for the doctor to be employed, under an obligation to supply the medicines. That mode is not to be approved of; for, besides the loss of time which it occasions, and the labour of a negro, who is dispatched to bring them, and is possibly detained half the day on that errand, before he can get served, it is not unlikely, that the properest medicines may sometimes be withheld, from a consideration of their price, to which the faculty are not quite indifferent. I would, therefore, recommend to gentlemen, to provide their own drugs; and, if they think proper, to stipulate an equivalent abatement in their bargain with the doctor.

I shall subjoin a list of such as are most necessary for plantation use. They may be included in the annual invoice from Europe, and be ordered in greater, or less quantities, according to the consumption of the preceding year. The abstract here given, being calculated for a gang of three hundred negroes, must be enlarged, or retrenched, as the

proportion of your own gang varies from that number.

The climate certainly affords many simples, which, where economy is consulted, may be substituted with effect to the drugs of the shop. Excellent purgatives are found in vervain and castor oil, more powerful ones in the physic nut; a good emetic, in the seeds of the thistle; and the class of astringents and alteratives are abundant. Materials enough might be found for the cure of the greater number of tropical diseases; but, as they are sometimes at a distance, and must be sought for at an expense of time and labour, I think it better to furnish your dispensary from the apothecaries' hall. The articles are but few; for every successive revision, which the dispensatories have undergone, by the colleges of physicians in Britain, having produced their reform chiefly by the rejection, both of simples and compounds, their materia medica is brought within a narrower compass, so as to afford a hope that we may, in time, see it comprised in a nutshell. In the West Indies, still less is required; for, as I have already observed, the diseases of the climate are fewer, and their symptoms much more analogous. I have, therefore, been careful, not to multiply, unnecessarily, the instruments of the doctor; for, drugs are

his instruments, and the fewer they are, the better he will know how to appreciate their effect.

It will be observed, that in the treatment of negro disorders, I have frequently departed from the rules laid down by European practitioners; and that has been done, as well from a regard to the peculiarities of their constitutions, as to their general habits of life, which neither require, nor admit of the refinement practised with respect to white patients. Many diseases which, from the rarity of their occurrence, are not likely to be met with on West-India plantations, are omitted altogether, from a desire of contracting the volume of the work, that the indolent may not be intimidated by its magnitude, from bestowing those repeated perusals upon it, which his interest requires he should do.

A like motive has also determined me to render the composition of the medicines as simple as is compatible with the end proposed. Nothing has been granted to the parade of art, essentials only being preserved; for, as a great deal will constantly be required to be done, the mode of doing it cannot possibly be rendered too easy.

Let it not escape from the memory of the reader, that the doses of the medicines are designed for grown negroes, and, of course, that a proportionate

reduction must be made from their quantities, for younger subjects, according to their respective ages.

Repetitions will be excused, in consideration of the importance of the subject, which requires the same rules to be frequently inculcated, those to whom they are addressed, not being of the profession.

The Hospital.

IT is necessary to have a building set apart, on every plantation, for the reception of the sick, which is called, the hospital, or the sick-house.

It is needless to propose a particular form for such a building, it being sufficient to observe, that it ought to consist of four separate apartments; one for the male negroes, one for the female, a third for such as labour under dangerous diseases, requiring particular attention, and the fourth for the sick nurses, who are to superintend them. If there were more, it would be so much the better, but these are indispensable.

The size of each of the apartments must be proportioned to the probable number of negroes that are to occupy them, making a large allowance for occasions of extraordinary unhealthiness.

The walls should be of stone, if that is to be procured, and of competent height, and thickness, to

preserve an equal temperature in the apartments throughout the four and twenty hours.

The site of this hospital should be as near as possible to the dwelling-house, to leward of it, but with the door directly in view, so that nothing of consequence can be transacted there, without its being heard by the proprietor, or his manager.

The proximity of such a building to the residence of the family, may possibly be objected to, as a nuisance; and, to say the truth, so it is, to those (and the number is not small) who consult their ease more than their duty, and whose organs are of a delicate texture; but to a man of proper sentiment, who feels the obligations which so important a charge imposes upon him, or even to the man of interest, who squares his conduct by the rule of profit only, it will be found of the utmost advantage to have it so situated.

I would wish, indeed, to have it placed so, that not a sigh, nor a cough, nor a groan, should issue therefrom, without reaching the ears of those from whom relief ought to come, as, in that case, it will pretty certainly be administered.

It is in vain to flatter or dissemble, the sick are but too frequently neglected. For the hospital

being rather a disgusting scene, charged with unpleasant odours, and occupied by offensive objects, it is no wonder that men should neglect a duty, the performance of which is attended with painful emotions. Under such circumstances, it is seldom that a proprietor attends, as he ought to do, to his sick-house, still seldomer his manager. The business of the sick is committed to the joint labours of the attendant doctor, and the sick nurse, the former of whom makes his ordinary visit once or twice a week, at the most. He pops into the hospital, and questions the sick, when, if the pulse neither indicates a fever, nor the frequency of stools, a flux, he concludes there is no disorder, and the negro is dismissed to the field. Yet, even by this attendance, superficial as it is, he earns dearly enough the slender stipend that is allowed him.

Such are the consequences of removing the sick-house to a distance from the family dwelling; the negroes are overlooked and forgotten; they linger in misery, and pine in neglect; and, if they recover, you may be assured it is nature that has carried them through the disorder. If situated nearer to the observation of the family, they will be forced upon their notice, and a greater degree of attention will, of course, be given to them.

In the disposition of the rooms of a sick-house, care should be had, that the sexes have no direct communication with each other, but that their several doors do open into a common passage, from which, there should be only one outlet, which ought to be before the nurses room, who is to keep the keys, and to let the negroes in and out when required. At night, the outer door should be locked by one of your house negroes, who is to bring the key into the house, lest the nurse should absent herself from her charge, or connive at the escape of some of her favourites.

The apartments should be well ventilated. There should be two or three windows in each, fortified with bars, or jealousies, to prevent the escape of the negroes, and with shutters, to exclude the night air, when too cold. There should be a privy in each room; and if there were a chimney, it would be so much the better; though negroes do very well without it, being accustomed to smoke, which may be of some use in purifying the air of their apartments.

The floors should be paved with tiles, or flat stones, as a security against fire, in the use of which negroes are very careless. If there be no chimney, a small space may be allotted for a fire place, at

some distance from their partitions, round which they may sit to dress their victuals, and to warm themselves, when the weather is a little cold, as it frequently is, to the feelings of a negro. Their bed places may be either separate, or otherwise, like the platform of a military guard room, composed of boards, about six feet and a half long, raised about twenty inches from the floor at the lower end, and two feet at the upper end, so as to form a gently-inclined plane. The boards ought to be of good stout deal, free from knots, and should lie loose on their traverses, so as to be removed at pleasure, for the convenience of being cleaned, or, instead of this platform, there may be bedsteads assigned to each negro, which would be better, if the room would allow of them. The floor should be sprinkled every morning, and the boards of the bed place scoured every week by a convalescent negro, or one of the nurses attached to the sick-house. The walls and roof, which will be blackened by the smoke, should be white-washed with lime, as often as they stand in need of it, and the whole be kept as neat and clean as possible.

Blankets, large enough to lie upon, and to wrap round the body, should be appropriated for each patient; and, when they require it, be freed from their

dirt by washing. There must also be at hand, bed pans, for such negroes as are too weak to rise from the board to ease themselves, and also for the use of dysenteric patients, who, when perspiring, ought not to go to the privy. There should be a small closet in the nurses room, provided with tow, lint, basilicon, Turner's cerate, and powders of verdegrease, and blue vitriol, for the dressing of negro sores; and also of other common articles, of which she will stand, frequently, in need. Her apartments should be furnished with a chimney and fireplace, for the purpose of heating water, and for preparing sago, panada, or any other slops which may be ordered for the sick.

Every estate ought to have one or more sick-nurses, according to the number of negroes who are to live in the hospital, and be devoted entirely to the service of the sick.

It hath been usual, to select for that purpose, such as are infirm and superanuated for other labour; but though the experience which age brings, and the serenity into which the mind subsides, when the passions cease to agitate, be very desirable in one who is called to such an office, there are other qua-

lities still more essential. There must be sobriety, somewhat of feeling, principle, strength, and respectability of character, to command the respect of the sick, and to insure their obedience; for the nurse, who has no authority over the negroes, will often have her orders disputed, and, being rather afraid of them, than they of her, she will wink at their irregularities, rather than provoke their resentment. In short, the best negro of your gang is not too good for the office, and no other ought to be permitted to fill it; for the charge is of the highest importance. Pains should be taken to instruct her in the use of the simples of the country, which she will soon acquire; the dressing of sores, and the doses of different purges and vomits; and, with such qualifications, I will venture to assure you, that you will receive infinitely more advantage from having her in that station, than from her service in the field, or any where else.

To the hospital, thus prepared, and provided, all your negroes, who are absent from the field, or from other services of the plantation, are to repair every morning, and thither the list-board, or plantation roll, must be brought after the overseer has called the list, and noted the absentees. You will, therefore, make it

your first care, after rising in the morning, to look into the sick-house, to see that all the absentees are there, or to inform yourself where they are; for, if indisposed, they should be in the hospital, if well, in the field.

If your humanity disposes you to be very indulgent to your negroes, or if their labour be at all severe, or there is a large proportion of new negroes, in your gang, and fluxes, and fevers, are epidemic, your sick-house will probably be crowded with complainants; some of whom will be really ill, whilst others only affect to be so, either from natural indolence of disposition, or from their having overslept themselves, are afraid of going to the field, lest they should be punished for the delay. It is your business to ascertain, from which of these causes their presence in the hospital arises; and this is a task of no ordinary difficulty, as every art will be used to mislead and deceive you.

A previous knowledge of the temper and disposition of every individual of your gang, which you should labour to obtain as soon as possible, will greatly assist this inquiry, and enable you to give a pretty correct guess, whether their complaints are real or fallacious.

When you see a negro there, who very frequently visits the sick house, without any perceptible disorder, whilst he preserves his flesh and appetite, and sleeps well, and when in the field seems reluctant to labour, you have reason to think that such a one only affects illness, and you will order him to his work. Those who have been dancing, or drinking, or otherwise engaged on some nocturnal excursion, either on the business of love, or depredation, will be found at the hospital the next morning. They may be detected by the lateness of the hour at which they come there, and the soundness of their sleep, much greater than indisposition would admit. You will order them to their work, and wink at their transgressions, unless too frequently repeated; for if too much severity be used in such cases, negroes run away, and it should be your endeavour to keep them, as much as possible, from that habit, which is extremely difficult to cure, when once they are thoroughly settled in it.

You will find others, who, without any illness, to which you can give a name, have, notwithstanding, a claim to your indulgence; for they have been harrassed by the preceding day's labour, and feel languid and exhausted. This happens frequently to very good negroes, whose constitutions are not

very robust, and may happen to others, even of the strongest, after great exertions, and hard continued work for too great a length of time. You may the more safely indulge them with the sick-house, under the assurance, that they will remain there no longer than is absolutely necessary for their recovery. Their dispositions being active, they have no reluctance to labour, and abhor confinement, which disables them from attending to their own little concerns.

Some negroes may also be really indisposed, though they are without any of the symptoms which indicate indisposition; but as it is impossible for you to judge with certainty in such cases, where there is no evidence to guide your judgment, and as the business of the plantation would be very ill performed, if you were, indiscriminately, to indulge all who prefer rest to labour, you must be governed in your determination, whether they shall remain in the hospital, by the general habit and reputation of the negro; for, if he be of an industrious and active character, in all probability, he will not complain without cause; on the other hand, though he should be an idle and reprobate subject, he may possibly be ill; but, as you have reason to suspect the contrary, you will order him to the field, from whence,

if he returns a second time to the hospital, you may conclude that to be the case, and you should, by all means, suffer him to lie by, until his complaint is removed. Indeed, you should never, on any occasion whatever, order a negro a second time to the field, who has returned from it, and persists in his complaint, without a perfect assurance that his indisposition is feigned. You may expect to be often deceived; but, if a man is to err, it should be on the side of humanity.

As to such negroes as are very alarmingly indisposed, it is not to be doubted but that you will suffer them to remain in the sick-house, and that some attention will be given to their complaints, though it hath not been usual to give so much as they require, particularly in the commencement of their illness; in consequence of which, the disorder gains ground, and the term of its duration is considerably lengthened, if the patient does not finally sink under it. It is not enough that the doctor is sent for, and that he visits the negro daily; but you, or some of your family, should see that whatever medicines he orders, are regularly administered, that the proper regimen be observed, and that the drink and nourishment, which is to sustain and carry him through the disorder, be supplied with as

liberal a hand, and with as much attention, as if he were one of your white family, without any regard being had to his value, on the schedule of your estate; for though his constitution be now valitudinary, time and care may restore it, and he may live to reward you, with many years of faithful service.

The usual seat of negro complaints, who are without any real malady, is in their belly, their backs, and their skins; and, to make the matter more sure, they often complain of the whole together. When the case is pretty clear that he feigns, and it is past dispute that he does so, when he is overwhelmed with such an aggregate of ailments, you will dismiss him with a reprimand, but never with stripes. If it be doubtful, from the circumstances abovementioned, and you suffer him to remain in the hospital, you will order him some little slop, or medicine, of a trifling nature, to amuse the imagination. The faculty do so, where they are at a loss to comprehend the disorder, and find, they accidentally stumble on a cure, where they only calculated upon time, to learn what the disorder was. This is medical prudence, frequently more useful to the reputation of a physician, than science itself. In imitation, therefore, of these great men,

you must appear to be busily occupied for the welfare of your patient, though you are doing nothing; for the mind takes the hint, and determines the body to be well, upon the credit of your exertions in its favour. You need not wonder at this, when you consider the paramount influence of one upon the other. Of all frauds, these are the most justifiable: for, if they do not cure, they often coincide with the cure, which is the same thing, your skill will be honoured, and your negroes will be pleased to be so much considered. Nothing attaches a negro so much to his master, as his care of him when ill. By this, and a regular discipline when well, every thing may be done with a gang of negroes, that you could wish.

It is usual, on many estates, when the negroes are in the hospital, to give them no other food than what their friends supply. If they are provident people, and well connected, it may be sufficient, and they may be trusted to be fed in that way, where their complaints are such as to allow of your being indifferent to the quality of their food. But there are many disorders, wherein pepper-pot and salt-herrings are improper; and many negroes, who, if abandoned to the assistance of their friends, would run a risk of being starved; therefore, it becomes

expedient to have food prepared every day for the sick, or such as are in the hospital, which is to be distributed, according to their several wants.

If the gang of negroes be a small one, and the hospital be situated, as recommended in the preceding part of this chapter, the dressing of their victuals may be performed in the family kitchen, without any great inconvenience, but if your negroes are very numerous, it will be absolutely necessary to have the cookery effected, either in a separate kitchen, attached to the hospital, or at the chimney of the nurse's room, and under her inspection, by one who is assigned to be her assistant.

In each of the apartments of the men and women, there should be a pair of stocks, to punish the refractory, or where they have been guilty of any other offence, or, sometimes, merely to keep them in a recumbent posture, when they have sores, which you find a difficulty to heal otherwise.

It is not the sick only, but, sometimes, negroes in health, whose offences are too light to require the dungeon, are put into the horpital, as into a place of security, where they suffer a privation of amusements, and are forthcoming to their labour. This is a very eligible mode of punishing, superior

far to the whip, as was before observed, and will be found an effectual substitute to it.

Having thus disposed the receptacle for the sick, I next proceed to treat of their disorders.

Of Disorders of the Bowels.

The seat of the greater part of negro disorders, from a variety of causes dependant upon their food, their clothing, lodgings, and exposure to the weather, is in their bowels; yet they are more frequently the cause of their complaints, than of their disorders; for, whenever they want to escape from labour, or to excuse their late turning out in the morning, they betake themselves to the sick-house, and say, their bellies cut them. That is a prudent part in which to lodge their ailments; for, as there is no getting at it to know whether they impose or not, you are obliged to believe their declaration, and to shew them some indulgence.

Disorders of the bowels are of several kinds; the principal of which are belly-achs, diarrhœas, or

purgings, and fluxes, or dysenteries, each of which requiring a somewhat different method of cure, must be separately considered.

Of the Colic, or Belly ach.

When a negro complains of his belly, you must endeavour to find out, to which of the above classes his disorder belongs.

If he has no fever, if he does not frequently go to stool, or has no urgent propensity thereto, and more particularly, if he be costive; if the pain changes from one part of his belly to the other, and fluxes are not frequent on the estate, or in the neighbourhood, you have reason to conclude, that the affection is neither diarrhœa nor flux; and, if it be any thing, it is the colic. Of this description, are two thirds of the belly complaints that occur on West-India estates.

As the colic principally arises from wind, created by unripe roots, and fruit, or from the juice of the canes, you may give a wine-glass full of the following infusion;

Take, of the shavings of bitter ash, eight ounces;
of the roots of bruised ginger;
of the leaves of semper vivum, each four ounces;
of rum, one gallon;
of water, four gallons: mix them together

As this medicine will be in daily use, not only for windy colics, but for many complaints of the stomach, it would be proper to have two jugs of the infusion, one under the other, that a supply may never be wanting. The semper vivum, or some other nauseous drug, is added, to render it less agreeable to the palate, and to prevent the negroes from taking a fancy to it, which they never fail to do, of any mixture, wherein rum enters as an ingredient.

If there be really any wind in the bowels, this infusion will be of service; if none, as probably there is not, it can be of no injury, and may, therefore, be freely used. If you suspect that the negro complains without a cause, you need not suffer him to remain in the hospital; but, after having gratified him with a dose of the mixture, you may dismiss him to the field.

If the pain increases, you may give one of the following purges.

A large table-spoonful of castor oil; or,

Ten drachms of Epsom salts, dissolved in half a pint of boiling water.

If near to the sea, a pint of salt water may be given, instead of either of the above purges, and it will be equally effectual, and more cheap.

If the pain be very severe, you may give a spoonful and a half of castor oil, and twenty-five drops of liquid laudanum, with a view to allay the pain until the bowels are open.

If the purge be slow in its operation, it may be quickened by glisters, such as,

A pint of warm sea water; or,

A pint of water, with a table-spoonful of common salt dissolved in it, and injected warm, and the belly may be fomented with flannel, wrung out of hot water.

If the pain does not quite disappear after the operation of the purge, you may give three spoonfuls of the following mixture, every three hours.

Take, of oil of peppermint, six drops, rub them in a mortar, with a little white sugar, and add a half-pint of water, and a wine-glass of rum.

By these means, windy colics may always be subdued: indeed, they are seldom so obstinate, as to require all of them to be employed.

Sometimes, though very rarely, negroes are afflicted with another kind of colic, called the dry belly ach, not arising from wind, but from another cause, to which a solution of lead has been accessary.

This colic is attended with a vomiting, obstinate costiveness, and excruciating torture of the bowels, which no medicine can remove for many days.

In this case, the stomach is to be previously composed by opiates, before you attempt to give any purgatives; and that opiate must be in a solid form, as the stomach is too irritable to retain it in any other.

Give two grains of opium, made up in the form of a pill, and wash it down with a spoonful of peppermint drachm.

If that fails of due effect, you may, after the interval of three or four hours, give another pill of half the quantity, or one grain of opium.

As soon as the vomiting has abated, and the stomach appears sufficiently settled to retain purgative medicines, you must proceed to employ them.

Give a table-spoonful of castor oil, and two spoonfuls of simple peppermint water, and repeat half the quantity every hour, until the body be opened, and stools are procured.

Should the stomach retain the castor oil, you may discontinue it, after having given four doses, and wait the effect for six hours before you give any more. But should the stomach reject a part of the oil, you may persevere in giving it in doses of half a spoonful at a time, with some warm peppermint water, until stools are procured; but, in order to promote that object, it will be necessary, not only to foment the belly, but to put the negro up to his armpits in warm water, for fifteen or twenty minutes at a time.

Frequent glisters must also be injected, prepared as follows:

Take, of thin water-gruel, one pint;
of common salt, a table-spoonful dissolve; and inject blood warm.

To every other glister, you may add a table-spoonful of castor oil.

The warm bath, as well as the glisters, must be frequently repeated, as they essentially contribute both to moderate the pain, and to relax the belly.

By the judicious use of these means, that is, of

the opium, purgatives, glisters, fomentations, and warm bathing, the patient seldom, or never fails of obtaining relief in the end, though it is frequently after several days of very severe pain, and of symptoms more alarming than dangerous.

Sometimes, but not often, it may be necessary to draw some blood in the beginning of the disorder.

Bilious matter, offending either in the quantity or quality, may be the cause of a violent affection of the stomach and bowels. The nature of this complaint is discovered by the quantity of bile discharged.

The degree of fever that accompanies it, is seldom great enough to require the loss of blood.

As there is generally, in this case, a great disposition to vomit, the stomach must be evacuated by draughts of camomile tea: after which, when the vomiting has a little subsided, give twenty-five, or thirty drops of liquid laudanum, with a saline draught.

Take, of salt of tartar, one scruple, dissolve it in a table-spoonful of water, swallow it down, and take immediately after it, a table spoonful of lemon, or lime juice.

If that is rejected from the stomach, it may be repeated at the end of half an hour, with ten or fif-

teen drops of liquid laudanum. After this, the belly may be opened with a light drink, made of manna, and cream of tartar, or of tamarinds and cassia, dissolved in water, and taken in small doses of a tea-cupful at a time, and repeated at short intervals. Its action should be solicited downwards by clysters of salt water, or salt and water, as above recommended, with or without a table-spoonful of castor oil, to be injected every two or three hours, until a passage is obtained for a discharge of the bilious matter by stool.

Flannels, wrung out of hot water, or the warm bath, which, whenever mentioned, is to be understood as being only of blood warmth may be resorted to, according to the urgency of circumstances. It can hardly be necessary to admonish you, that, after either are employed, the negro should be rubbed dry, and placed between blankets, out of the air.

In women, who are irregular in their monthly evacuations, the belly-ach is often an hysterical symptom, and may be relieved with five-and-twenty drops of liquid laudanum, and forty drops of tincture of assafœtida. The castor oil, and all other purgatives, should be omitted, unless the patient be very costive, and even then they should be given only so as to procure one or two stools.

When pregnant women, or such as are under a suspicion of being with child, from the stoppage of their courses, and the enlargement of their breasts, are attacked with pains in their bellies, you are to inquire whether they have met with any accident, whether they have had a blow, or sustained a fall, or any other violence, so as to have reason to be assured that a miscarriage is not threatened, before you give them any medicines to act upon their bowels. If there be symptoms of a miscarriage, you must have recourse to the chapter assigned to that head, where the means of preventing it are treated of.

The bowels of negroes may be attacked with inflammation. This disorder is attended with the utmost danger, though, happily, it is not very frequent.

It may be known by the violence of the pain, the frequency and hardness of the pulse, the heat, thirst, puking, and costiveness. Here, a large immediate bleeding, to the quantity of ten or twelve ounces, is necessary ,and ought to be repeated with no sparing hand, if the continuance of the symptoms require it. A blister should be applied to the belly, the patient should sit up to the armpits in a warm bath for ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour, and a common clyster of gruel should be injected every

two or three hours, and a light laxative drink, composed of manna, tamarinds, and water, be taken in the quantity of a teacupful at a time, until the bowels are moved to a stool. The first and principal object, after the bleeding, being to open the belly, no other medicine should be given, until that is effected; but, after that, you may give four spoonsful of the following mixture, every three hours.

Take, of salt of tartar, three drachms;
lime, or lemon-juice, nine table spoonfuls;
water, one pint mix.

Worms are another cause of the belly complaints of negroes; but, I imagine, less frequently so than is generally thought. They are only to be known with certainty, to exist, when they have been discharged by stool, or by the mouth: but, as a particular chapter will be alotted to that subject, I will not enlarge upon it here, therefore, shall only briefly observe, that, when the above methods for the removal of the belly ach have failed of success, worms may be suspected, and the remedies particularly appropriated to them, should be resorted to.

It should be carefully observed, whether a re-

tention of urine be not the cause of the uneasiness in the belly, as its treatment differs essentially, and an error in that respect might prove fatal. This disorder may be known, by inquiring when the negro last made water; and by applying your hand to the lower part of the belly, where the bladder is situated, which will appear hard and distended. A discharge of urine may possibly be obtained by a dose of castor oil, or by thirty drops of dulcified spirit of nitre. If they fail, draw half a pint of blood from the arm, and put the negro into the warm bath for a quarter of an hour. Continue the same quantity of the spirit of nitre every three hours; and if these different means are not found to have the effect of discharging the urine, but the patient retains it for more than twelve hours, and his pain increases, let a surgeon be sent for, to draw off the water with a catheter, or instrument adapted to that service, as a few hours more delay would be attended with the utmost danger. The patient must abstain, as much as possible, from drink of any kind.

In the above complaints of the belly, the nourishment of negroes ought to be light, diluting, and given a little warm, such as sweet water, or sugar and water, barley water, or water gruel.

If the disease continues more than forty-eight hours, they should be supported with light chicken broth, panada, rice, or sago. They should be kept from the use of any other solids, of more difficult digestion, particularly from high seasoned pots of negro cookery, until the disorder be completely removed. The warm bath, when used in these, and other cases, ought never to be but little more than blood warm. The patients should not be allowed to go to the privy, but must make use of bed-pans.

Of the Diarrhœa, or Purging.

A diarrhœa is a frequent going to stool, sometimes accompanied with gripes, or a cutting of the belly, as the negroes term it, and sometimes not; and may be either critical and useful, or otherwise.

It is a common disorder among the negroes, when the air grows colder, and the perspiration less abundant.

It arises also from the use of unripe canes, yams, Indian corn, or any other vegetable food, which is not advanced to its proper state of maturity.

In this, as in the former case, the negro will complain of his belly, and will add, that it runs. You must inquire, how often he goes to stool, or in the negro language, which you must necessarily adopt, if you wish to be understood, how many times he goes to bush, whether he is griped, which he will best comprehend, if you ask him, whether his belly cuts him much. The quality of the stools may be seen. By these means, you may arrive at a knowledge of the precise state of the disorder.

A purging, in the beginning, is an effort of nature, to remove some offensive matter, which has been lodged in the bowels; you must take her for your guide, and assist her endeavour by warm drinks, such as sugar and water, rice gruel, or water gruel, taken frequently, and a purge should be given of

A pint of sea-water; or.

A half-pint of water, with ten drachms of Epsom salts dissolved in it; or

One table-spoonful of castor oil.

When the bowels have been properly emptied by these means, if the disorder continues, twenty, or

twenty-five grains of the powder of rhubarb should be given; and if, after that, the purging does not disappear, you must have recourse to a vomit, and give five-and-twenty grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, in any liquid in the evening, and work it off with warm water.

When the puke has done working, you should give the negro a bason of smooth panada, with two or three spoonsful of red-port wine; and after that, twenty-five drops of liquid laudanum, to compose him for the night.

It is seldom that simple purgings, which have been thus attended to in time, will require much other medicine, as they generally disappear with the rhubarb, or the vomit. Sometimes, however, you meet with them of a more obstinate character; having become habitual by a long continuance, and requiring all the address of art, to put a stop to them, and to prevent them from running the negro off his legs.

Purgings of this description are common enough among negroes lately arrived from Africa, who having been neglected, or unskilfully treated on the passage, the disorder acquires such a degree of inveteracy, as to render it extremely difficult to re-

store the strength of the bowels, and to recover them to health; more particularly, as you have to encounter with minds not very susceptible of reason, ignorant of your language, and so invincibly obstinate, as not to allow you to make use of the best means for their relief.

These are cases that will require great temper, patience, and perseverance; and their cure must be attempted with vomits, sweating medicines, astringents, warm clothing, and strengthening diet.

The first thing to be done with a negro, under such circumstances, is, to provide him with a warm flannel waistcoat, pretty long, though without any flaps, but with sleeves. This is to serve him as an additional skin, and to be kept closely buttoned, to solicit the humours to the surface of the body, which have taken an undue course to the bowels, and to prevent the perspiration, if any such should appear from the effect of the medicines, from being checked, when he moves about the sick-house.

If he goes into the open air, as negroes, in this disorder, may sometimes be permitted to do, he should put a common plantation jacket over his flannel one, and flannel trowsers. A bamboo will

not answer so good a purpose, as it is subject to be thrown aside, and a part of the body to be exposed at every motion.

As the disorder, in this stage, proceeds rather from relaxation, and weakness of the bowels, than from stimulating matter, as in the case of the dysentery, and in the earliest stage of the diarrhœa, it will, of course, be improper to give purges, which would rather increase, than remove the evil; therefore, you will confine yourself to the other means abovementioned.

A gentle vomit of fifteen grains of ipecacuanha, may be given the first evening, if the patient be not too much exhausted to support the operation. If he is very weak, six or eight grains of it will suffice to occasion a sickness, which ought not in this case, as in the former one, to be excited to a puke by warm drinks. The sickness alone will answer a better purpose.

After that has subsided, you should give some thick panada, or Indian arrow root, with three or four spoonsful of red-port wine.

The next morning, if the negro has not been very often to stool during the night, you may give four or five grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, or as much as will excite a gentle sickness of the sto-

mach, but not a puking; and repeat the same dose three or four times during the course of the day, supporting the negro with thick gruel, or sago, or Indian arrow root, in small quantities of a tea-cupful at a time, frequently repeated, and with one spoonful of red port wine in each cupful of his nourishment. If his stools be very frequent, four or five drops of laudanum may be added to each dose of the ipecacuanha.

If this treatment appears to agree with the patient, his stools becoming less frequent, it may be continued some days without alteration. But, if his motions, instead of abating, become more frequent, or he does not seem to advance towards his cure, you may give three spoonsful of a light infusion of bitter ash, or simarouba, with every dose of the ipecacuanha, which should now comprise no more than three grains each.

This remedy alone will frequently be found to accomplish a cure; but you must not be discouraged, if the good effects do not immediately appear.

During the progress of the disorder, it may be necessary to give, occasionally, a half-drachm of the powder of chalk, as an absorbent, to correct any acid humours which may be in the bowels.

More powerful astringents should be abstained

from as much as possible; but, if every other method proves ineffectual, and the purging increases in severity, you will be under the necessity of having recourse to them. A scruple, or half a drachm of the powder of bole-armonic, may be added to each dose of the bitter ash, instead of the powder of ipecacuanha. It is as proper a medicine of the kind as any, as it is lightly astringent, and absorbent. If its astringency requires to be increased, an equal part of the decoction of the cashew-bark may be mixed with the infusion of bitter ash; or, instead of the bitter ash, if that be found insufficient on due trial, give two table spoonsful of the decoction of Peruvian bark, three or four times a day, with the addition of four or five drops of laudanum to each dose, if the bark be found to run through the bowels.

Doctor Mosely, in his Treatise on Tropical Diseases, has recommended a solution of white vitriol, combined with alum, in the proportions specified in the following recipe, as most effectual in the cure of chronic diarrhœas.

Take, of white vitriol, three drachms;
alum, one drachm;
powder of cochineal, three grains;
boiling water, one pint; mix them together in a marble mortar, and,

when the sediment has subsided, pour off the clear part of the solution, and keep it for use.

I have tried it, and it has been tried by others, with whom I have been acquainted, on the doctor's guarantee, with some advantage. In several cases it proved serviceable; in many also, like other medicines of exaggerated reputation, it failed, when some of the methods abovementioned succeeded. However, as the medicine appears well adapted to the intention, and good effects have sometimes been experienced from it, it may, with great propriety, be employed in the dose of, from one to four or five tea-spoonsful every morning and evening, according to the age of the patient.

In two of the most obstinate purgings I ever saw, which resisted all other remedies, and brought the patients to the brink of the grave, I obtained relief from blisters applied to the bottom of the belly. The effect was immediate, and really astonishing. The subjects to whom they were applied, were refuse negroes, who had been extremely reduced by the disorder at sea. Leaving the West Indies soon after, I had not an opportunity of repeating the experiments, so as to be fully able to appreciate the effect of so unusual a remedy; and can therefore only

think myself warranted in recommending it to further trial.

During the treatment of this disorder, the patient, unless very feeble, and oppressed with fever, should not be confined strictly to the hospital. On the contrary, under proper precautions, such as good clothing, and, in favourable weather, the negro may not only be permitted to exercise in the open air, but should be urged so to do. The agitation of a cart, or on the back of a mule, may also be of service to him.

His diet should be nourishing, and easy of digestion; such as panada, sago, salop, Indian arrow root, either with a little red port wine, or milk, as they shall agree with the patient, and thick pap, made of starch, or flour, and milk, or milk alone, may be taken with good effect. But, however this light diet has been varied, if too long continued, the negro will shew a dislike to it.

Such as are lately arrived from Guinea, will peremptorily refuse it; therefore, however improper it may be, you will be frequently under the necessity of indulging their appetites with something more solid. Under such circumstances, you will, of course, give what may be the least hurtful to

them, such as unripe plantains roasted, soup made of tannies, and thickened with dumplings, starch, or flour, and dry brown biscuit. It should, however, be observed, that whatever nourishment is given to them, should be in small quantities at a time, and frequently.

The clothing should be warm. The flannel jacket, recommended in the beginning of this chapter, should be worn, not only during the whole course of the disorder, but sometime after it has ceased; and the negro should not be allowed to expose himself to the wind, or the night air, for fear of a relapse.

When the bowels begin to recover their tone, if the negro be costive, care should be taken that he does not go more than two or three days without a stool, which may be procured with six or eight grains of rhubarb, taken every six hours, until the purpose is answered.

The Dysentery, or Bloody-Flux.

The flux is a very common disorder among negroes, and as matters are now managed, it proves by far the most fatal, as many dying of that, as of all the other disorders, with which our plantations are afflicted. This is a melancholy truth, and the more to be regretted, as there is good reason to think, that if due care be taken, and proper means employed, it may be found more tractable than it usually is, so that, if the mortality cannot be altogether prevented, it may be prodigiously diminished. I assert this with confidence; and certain it is, that if, in the whole catalogue of human maladies, there is none in which nature does so little, there is none in which art may do so much.

It hath been usual, in West-India practice, to confound all the affections of the belly, which are accompanied with frequent stools, under the general denomination of the dysentery; though, by that term, the most approved medical writers have designed that complaint of the bowels, which is attended with frequent stools, of a slimy and frothy matter, accompanied with gripes, and tonesmus;

or, as our nurses call it, a needy, which is a painful effort to go to stool, without the capacity of voiding any thing but froth and slime, and that in small quantities at a time. Sometimes, but not always, blood is discharged with the stools, wind is expelled upwards and downwards, and, when the disorder is very severe, it is universally accompanied with fever.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that these symptoms, which characterise the dysentery, do not always appear in the first stage; but, that it frequently commences, like a common purging, with a discharge of liquid excrement only. Severer symptoms, however, soon succeed, and the disorder reveals itself in a manner not to be doubted. You can be at no loss to know, that a dysentery, or flux, exists when, together with a fever, you find the negro has great pain, and gripes, that he goes frequently to the pan, and discharges little or nothing when there. As it has been before observed, you are not always to look for blood, until towards the middle, or last stage of the disorder.

Most writers, who have treated of the dysentery, describe it as being infectious to a very great degree. Dr. Mosely, in his book on tropical diseases, contests that opinion universally; and, so far as

my own observation hath gone, I acknowledge it has led to the persuasion, that if the disorder be not, as he asserts, absolutely uninfectious in warm climates, the danger of its being received in that way, is much less than is commonly imagined; for, even where a great number of negroes have been confined in a close apartment of a sick-house, and many of them labouring under a violent degree of the dysentery, all using one common necessary, and no care taken to protect them from the infection, no more negroes were seized with the disorder, in such exposed circumstances (numbers considered) than of those who were out of the sick-house, and at work in the field: on the contrary, I think the proportion rather greater of the latter, than of those who took it in the hospital. However, as medical men, of great celebrity and experience, have maintained a different opinion, and recommended preventive measures, it would be an unpardonable presumption to neglect their advice, and not to adopt every means of keeping the infected apart from the sound, where that can be done without great inconvenience.

Of this disorder, like all others, there are different degrees of violence, dependant on the circumstances of season and situations. After very hot

and wet weather, when the perspiration, probably vitiated in its quality, by the putrid constitution of the air, has been checked, and thrown inward on the bowels, either by exposure to the weather, or by a sudden change of the atmosphere, from heat to cold, the dysentery is apt to make its appearance; and will prove in general, more or less violent, as the situation is dry and healthy, or low, swampy, and unhealthful. Under such circumstances, the disease frequently appears with inveterate symptoms of malignity. The pain of the bowels is excruciating; the fever high, the thirst great, and the gripes and tenesmus almost incessant.

The disorder being ascertained to be the dysentery (and it can hardly be mistaken when symptoms such as these are present) you must be expeditious in your endeavours to remove it by evacuants, such as bleeding, purging, puking, and sweating, sometimes all of them in succession. You are by no means to think of attempting the cure by astringents.

If the attack be very violent, the pulse beats high and quick, and the negro complains much of thirst, six or eight ounces of blood may be drawn from the arm. If he be of a strong robust consti-

tution, he may lose to the amount of ten ounces: in general, however, and in its milder attacks, it may be cured without the lancet, the cases being very rare, where it is really required.

As the stomach and bowels are to be thoroughly emptied, if the patient comes into the hospital in the morning, as they generally do, no time being to be lost, you should begin with a purge. Various substances are employed for that purpose, and, as it appears, with pretty uniform effect. The juice of vervain, or salt water, does as well as any other; but, as vervain and salt water are sometimes at a distance, whilst Epsom and Glauber's salts, are always at hand, you may give from an ounce, to an ounce and a half, of either of these, dissolved in half a pint of boiling water. Perhaps it would be better to dissolve an ounce and a half of the salts, in a quart, or more of the water, and to give the solution in half pints, at intervals of half an hour between the draughts; but, as such a division of the dose may appear too great a charge on the nurse's memory, the common method, of giving the salts at once, may be adhered to; and let the patient be plentifully supplied, during the operation, with warm drink, by the assistance of which, that

end is promoted, the pain is abated, and there is a determination of the mischievous matter to the surface of the body, which is never to be lost sight of in the cure of this disorder.

This drink may be either thin rice, or water gruel, or simple warm water, sweetened with sugar, or molasses, to the negro's taste; for you will find it difficult to prevail on him to take as much as is necessary, of any diluent, unless it has the approbation of his palate; and indeed, such is the antiputrescent power of sugar, that it may be doubted, whether it doth not impart a real efficacy to their ordinary drink, of which we ought to profit.

The purge having wrought its effects by several stools, you may give a vomit of the following powder.

Take, of ipecacuhana, freshly powdered, one ounce;
of emetic tartar, one drachm;
rub the emetic tartar in a glass mortar, then add the ipecacuhana; mix them well together, and keep them for use in a phial, with a ground stopper.

Give fifteen grains of this powder, and, when it pukes,

let the patient take plenty of warm water. In an hour after the operation has ceased, you should give, as he may be supposed to be a good deal exhausted by the preceding evacuations, a bason of panada, with two or three spoonsful of wine, to recruit his strength; and, before the doors of the sick-house are locked for the night, he must take from twenty to twenty-five drops of liquid laudanum, to compose him to rest until the morning.

It ought not to pass unnoticed, that medical writers in general are averse from the giving of opiates in this early stage of the disorder; and, I believe, they are perfectly right with respect to such patients as are submitted to their care, as they have the means of being properly attended, both day and night. But negroes are without those advantages. If moved to stool in the night, they rise and go to the privy, where they are many minutes exposed to the cold air, and, of course, receive more injury in that way, than from the premature use of opium; from which, indeed, I have never been sensible of any bad effects, when used, not as an astringent, but merely to quiet the pain and gripes, and to prevent the negro, as much as possible, from rising at hours when he cannot be attended to by the nurse; for, where the case is alarming, the patient

should never be allowed to go to the privy at all, but must ease himself in a chamber-pot, or bed-pan, and care should be taken to wrap his blanket round him, so as to expose no part of his body to the cold air.

The next morning, let the patient take four or five grains of the dysenteric powder above described, which is not now intended to act as a vomit, but merely to excite a little sickness of the stomach. The quantity of the dose of this powder is be regulated, so as just to produce that effect, and no more. If it vomits, the dose must be diminished; and, if it occasions no sickness, it must be increased, at the rate of one grain at a time. Let the powders be given at intervals of three or four hours, and give frequently some warm diluent drink, such as rice, or water-gruel, or sugar and water.

By means of the powder so assisted, the pores of the skin will be opened, and the disorder will pass off through that outlet. At night, when going to rest, give five and twenty drops of the laudanum. The following days, the same powders must be repeated as before, and the laudanum in the evening.

It frequently happens, by these means, that the disorder abates of its violence on the second or third

day; the stools become less frequent, the gripes and tenesmus less tormenting; in which case, the powders may be given twice a day only. But, should the disorder not abate, the powder must be continued as before for several successive days.

It is seldom, even in the worst kinds of the flux, that the patient does not experience relief by this treatment, before the fifth day; but, should it happen otherwise, and the disorder rather gains ground, a trial may be made of James's powder, and one third of a paper, or seven grains, may be taken with a little guava jelly, and washed down with a quarter of a pint of gruel, into which ten or twelve drops of liquid laudanum have been dropped, to prevent the powder from vomiting; and to determine its action to the skin. By this means, a sweat is generally produced, which should be kept up by the warm drinks above recommended, and by a repetition of the same powder, in smaller doses of four or five grains, without the laudanum, every four hours; care being taken, that when the negro is in a state of perspiration, with his pores open, he be not exposed for a moment to the air, and that the nurse attends him, every time he goes to stool, with a pewter bed-pan, and keeps him well covered with his blanket while upon it. For this reason, when-

ever the sweating regimen is employed, it should be only in the course of the day, when the nurse is awake to attend to her duty, and some of the white family, to see that she performs it.

The injury which the negro may receive from a neglect of this precaution, forms a strong objection to the sudorific plan being universally employed for negroes, who are scarcely ever well enough attended, to admit of their using it with safety. The ordinary method, therefore, of treating it with ipecacuhana, and emetic tartar, in small quantities, is, in general, to be preferred, as being much more applicable to the humility of their condition; and it will seldom be found necessary to resort to any other.

Sometimes, however, it will happen, either from a neglect of the timely use of medicines, or from the extreme severity of the disorder, that the violence of the symptoms increases after the period, when we had reason to expect them to abate; the stools becoming more frequent, the gripes and tenesmus almost incessant.

In this case, it becomes necessary to supply the bowels with an artificial slimy coating, instead of the natural one, which has been carried away by the purging. Both these intentions may be answered, by a half pint of pretty thick starch, to which, forty

drops of laudanum have been added, being injected by way of clyster. If the clyster be not retained, the quantity of laudanum may be augmented to fifty or sixty drops in the next that is given. One of them should be taken in the morning, and another at night. Sometimes they may be required every six hours; but, in that case, the quantity of laudanum must be lessened to twenty or thirty drops in each clyster. The powder of ipecacuhana, and emetic tartar, should be continued in doses of four or five grains, every six hours, and washed down with four table spoonfuls of a weak infusion of bitter ash, or simarouba, which alone, has frequently an admirable effect in the cure of this disorder.

When the complaint is found to be considerably abated of its violence, which may be known by the complexion and quality of the stools, and the ease with which they are discharged, it will be proper to give fifteen or twenty grains of rhubarb every two days.

In this stage of the disorder, when the offending matter has been expelled, and the inflammatory disposition of the bowels removed, there remaining only a weakness, you have little more to do than to restore the energy, and to recruit the strength of the negro by bitters, and more nourishing diet. The

bitters may be, the bitter ash, or camomile tea. A small tea-cupful of these infusions may be given three or four times a day, interposing, every two or three days, twenty grains of the powder of rhubarb.

In the beginning of the flux, no other nourishment is required than a little panada, besides what is extracted from the gruel and drinks which are to be taken, for the purpose of diluting, very frequently, in small quantities at a time. But, if the disorder continues for more than three or four days, the patient must be supported with milk and water, sago, salep, tapioca, Indian arrow root, and pap, made of starch and milk. No meat or vegetables are to be allowed on any account.

When the disorder has disappeared, the patient may be indulged with a little portable soup, and with any kind of fresh meat, which the table of the master can supply. A little red-port wine and water may be allowed him, though sparingly, at first.

To strengthen the bowels, and prevent a relapse, a wine-glass of the infusion of bitter ash, or of the decoction of Peruvian bark should be given twice a day. The warm jacket, and a pair of flannel trowsers, should be worn, not only during the continuance of the flux, but for some weeks after it has ceased.

Should a relapse occur, with gripes, and a tenesmus, or needy, after the disorder has once abated, which is not unusual, it must be treated, as before, with the powder of ipecacuhana, and emetic tartar. But, should there remain only a discharge of liquid excrement, of no unfavourable quality, and unaccompanied with gripes, which frequently happens for a long time after the violence of the disorder has been subdued, it may be considered merely as a diarrhœa, or purging, proceeding from the weakness of the bowels, and may be treated in the manner proposed for that disorder.

Through the whole course of the flux, the negro should be kept in an apartment well aired; but in a situation where the wind cannot have access to him. It should always be had in mind, that the disorder is to be discharged, principally by the skin; the emetic powder being given with a view to that effect, by exciting a nausea, and, of course, a gentle perspiration. When he ventures abroad again, it should be with caution, and not too early in the morning, or late in the evening; and he is to be enjoined not to expose himself to the rain.

Fevers.

Fevers are, at least, as frequent as any other complaints among the negroes. On certain occasions, not less than a tenth part of your gang will be in the sick-house from that cause. But, though frequent, and sometimes severe enough, yet they rarely kill; and, when they do kill, it is not that class of them which prove so fatal among the whites, namely, the putrid fever, by which the mischief is effected. The reason why negroes escape their fury, in the worst seasons, and most unhealthy situations, when the whites die in great numbers, is a problem which no person hath hitherto attempted to solve: yet the fact hath not only been observed in the sugar colonies, but in the continent of America, during several seasons of mortality, with which the cities of Philadelphia and New York have been afflicted of late years.

But, though I do not pretend to penetrate the secret of this phenomenon, there is somewhat in the case of negroes, which may possibly be allowed to

contribute to it, and that is, the absence of the fear of death.

Fear, we all know, is a very powerful agent. Sometimes it is an active remedy. It is in daily experience that it removes the tooth-ach, suspends the gout, the hiccough, and the ague. Hurricanes, which alarm and terrify, have frequently been found to cure persons, who had been confined to their beds, under various complaints, and so suddenly, as to leave no doubt of the cause of their recovery, and that too, where they have been exposed, for several hours, to all the assaults of the elements, without the covering of clothes, when the worst effects might have been expected to ensue. Shakespear, who, though more of a poet than a physician, has yet shewn some skill even in that art, when he remarked, "that when the mind is at ease, the body is tender:" meaning, no doubt, to intimate, that when the mind is agitated, the body is capable of resisting great hardships; and so we find it in this hurly burly of nature; for I know not an instance of any one, who died of a disease contracted at that period.

But, though fear may occasionally have this salutary effect, her more general operation is of a disastrous kind.

When a white man is seized with a fever, in seasons of great mortality, having been tremblingly expectant of an attack, he considers the first derangement of his pulse as a summons to the grave; and takes to his bed, under the pressure of that apprehension. He meditates incessantly on the catastrophe, which he conceives to be inevitable; neither bolus, nor julep can expel the gloomy idea. His heart loses its contractile energies; the arteries no longer perform their due functions, and vitality is extinguished by the fear of death.

From this danger negroes are rescued by their insensibility. Though no great reasoners, they are acute observers; and it is a common saying with them, "that fear kills bawkra." Now, as they are without any such fear, having never speculated on the subject of death, and neither apprehending, nor caring much about it, they only suffer the actual disease of the body, which, without the intervention of the mind, is unable, in these cases, to effect their destruction. Such instances as happen to the contrary (and they are very rare), generally occur to domestic slaves, who, from their intercourse with the whites, are imbued with more of their prejudices and die, like them, the victims of imagination.

If this hypothesis doth not satisfactorily explain

the phenomenon of negroes very rarely dying of fevers, I know no other that will, and shall, therefore, forbear to pursue the inquiry any further, in despair of arriving at a more rational solution.

One fact, however, which tends to subvert a received medical maxim, must not be omitted, and that is, that the blood of negroes is of an uncommonly dilute texture, possessing, in numerous cases, scarcely colour enough to tinge linen. Such a state of the blood has been supposed, of itself, as predisposing to putrescence; yet negroes do not die of putrid fevers.

But to return to the more important consideration of cure.

The fevers of negroes are divided into three classes; the simple, the intermittent, and the inflammatory. It is not necessary to divide them into any more.

Of the Simple Fever.

The fevers of negroes are mostly of this kind, and attack with moderate symptoms. The pulse are

quick, the body hot, and there is a pain in the head and loins.

It requires very little more to be done, than to satisfy the patient that you are not negligent of his welfare.

Nature would do the business; but it is proper that you should not let nature carry away the credit of the cure; that should be appropriated to your own advantage.

As soon as the negro comes into the hospital, order the nurse to give him a half-pint of the infusion of lemon grass, which is not to be made too strong. Repeat it every four hours. It seldom fails to produce a sweat; but, should that effect not follow, add to each dose of the infusion, fifty or sixty drops of the essence of antimony. This will, probably, operate by the skin, and possibly upon the stomach, by exciting a gentle puking.

If it doth not ruffle the patient too much, you may repeat the dose in the same quantity. If the effect be too violent, lessen it to thirty or forty drops.

By these means, the negro is generally in a situation to return to the field in three or four days; not unfrequently on the following day, their fevers being often ephemeral, or of one day only.

Intermittent Fevers

Give notice of their approach by a cold shivering, which, after some time, perhaps, two, three, or four hours, is succeeded by a great heat, a quick pulse, accompanied with much thirst, and frequently with a violent pain in the back and head, which continues for five or six hours, and then goes off with a profuse sweat.

This fever is attended with little more danger than the former. But, though it is not dangerous, it is very often extremely vexatious, from its frequent returns daily, or every other day, and sometimes every third day, harrassing the negro, and disabling him from doing any work on the plantation for many months.

During the cold fit, nothing should be given, except a little warm water, sweetened with sugar, or a light infusion of lemon grass, with the same sweetening; for sick or well, negroes are never without an appetite for sugar, which it would not be reasonable to refuse to them.

The body should be covered with a warm blanket; and he should lie on another over a bonana pad, during the cold fit, for the shiverings are extremely disagreeable.

When they have subsided, and the cold fit gone, the negro should continue to take the same warm diluting drinks, with forty or fifty of the sweating drops every four hours, until the sweat breaks out, and even after that, until it disappears.

When the fever is entirely off, as it will be, when the patient has sweated a sufficient time, if costive, he should take a purge, as follows:

Take, of Epsom salts, ten drachms;

Boiling water, a half pint dissolve, and give, luke-warm, at two draughts.

This will move his belly, and possibly lessen the violence of the succeeding fit, which is frequently severer than what he has already felt.

When that returns, the patient must be treated as before, though without using endeavours to excite a profuse sweat, which only weakens, without advancing the cure.

After he has had three or four fits, you must endeavour to stop their return by the following mixture.

Take, of the shavings of quassia, or bitter ash, an ounce;

Water, two quarts, boil to three pints, then strain the decoction, and give a small tea-cupful of it every two hours.

If this be not found sufficient to prevent the return of the fever, after using it three or four days in the intervals of the fits, you should add to the decoction half an ounce of the powder of Peruvian bark, and give it, as before, every two hours; taking care to shake the bottle well at the time of use, in order to mix the powder with the bitters.

This, in a few days, will generally put a stop to the fever for the present; but will not prevent its return, if discontinued. Let it therefore be persevered in for three or four days after the fever has disappeared, though the dose need not be given so frequently on the third and fourth days.

After that period, the decoction may be discontinued for two or three days, and then be given again for as long a time, to prevent a relapse, to which all persons attacked with fevers in the West Indies, are extremely liable.

Indeed, not once only, but repeatedly, two or

three days before the change, and full moon, it would be advisable to resort to the same decoction and bark, to guard against relapses, which are always to be apprehended on too early a discontinuance of the medicine.

It is, indeed, possible, for the disease to run its career, and to exhaust itself, where neither bitters, nor bark, are employed to prevent its return; but, as that operation of nature may be protracted to a longer period than would be compatible either with the welfare of the negro, or the convenience of his master, it is better, on all accounts, not to exact too much from her efforts, but to assist them with a plentiful use of the bitters and bark, as above recommended.

Of the Inflammatory Fever.

It has been observed, that negroes are seldom killed by fevers, but that, when they are, it is by those of this class, which attack at the begin-

ning of the year, when the winds hang to the northward, and the air is very much cooler than at any other season.

In December, January, and February, inflammatory fevers, affecting the lungs with coughs, are not uncommon; and, if timely bleeding be neglected, as it is too apt to be, from observing that, at other times, negroes do not stand much in need of the lancet, the worst consequences will ensue; for the inflammation increases; and, if it does not kill in a few days, as it sometimes does, it yet lays a foundation for durable affections of the lungs, which, after many months, and sometimes years of indisposition, terminate in consumptions, which carry them off the stage.

Therefore, at any time, but particularly in the months abovementioned, if a negro comes into the hospital with a fever, and pains in the side and breast, accompanied with a cough, and difficulty of breathing, it will be proper to draw a half pint of blood, and to apply a large blister to the part affected.

Give also fifty or sixty drops of the essence of antimony, to induce a sweat, which must be promoted with warm weak drink, such as sugar and

water, or barley water, taken frequently, but not in large quantities at a time.

The same drops should be repeated every four hours, but, in smaller doses, if they excite a vomiting.

If the case be urgent, from the violence of the symptoms, instead of the essence of antimony, you may give seven grains, or one third of a paper of James's powder, which is a more certain sudorific than any other preparation of antimony, though they have all strong powers of affecting the skin.

The powder should be repeated every four hours, in larger or smaller doses, adding or diminishing a grain or two, according to the effect of the preceding dose.

During the operation of the powder, and, indeed, through the whole course of the disorder, the thin diluent drinks must be continued. There are few better for the purpose than an infusion of bran in hot water. It should be remembered, in all cases, that water is the diluent, and that the other substances added to it, are either for the purpose of flavour, or of mild nutriment.

If the symptoms do not abate, but rather increase, after the first bleeding, it will be advisable to repeat it, after an interval of twelve hours, to the loss of

half a pint more of blood; though it is not very often that a second bleeding is found necessary, if the first was employed in season, and very seldom a third, the disease yielding much more readily to the lancet in hot than in cold climates.

If the patient be costive, a clyster, of half a pint of thin water gruel, with a table-spoonful of brown sugar, and as much of salt and castor oil, may be injected every day, to relieve the bowels, and procure a stool.

If the fever be accompanied with much cough, it will be necessary to allay it with the following linctus.

Take, of spermaceti, two drachms, rub it smooth in a marble mortar, with the yolk of an egg, then add two table-spoonsful of sweet oil, and as much thick syrup, mix together, and give a tea-spoonful, to be swallowed very gradually, every now and then, and particularly when the cough is troublesome.

The sick nurse must be admonished, not to let the negro eat any thing that may be brought to him by the other negroes. Panada is all that is necessary on the first days of the disorder, and, afterwards, a little chicken broth. When the fever and pain have

quite subsided, a more generous diet may be allowed.

If these means are early employed and duly continued for a few days, it is seldom that inflammatory fevers do not yield; for, as I said before, they are dangerous only when neglected.

The three kinds of fevers above described, are the principal ones by which negroes are visited. Such attacks of fevers, as are rather symptomatic of some other disorder, than primary and original, I shall not proceed to consider.

Of the Putrid Sore Throat.

This is a dangerous disorder in Europe, and less so in the West Indies; though the danger to negroes does not arise so much from the malignant quality of the fever, as from the local affection of the throat.

The principal objects of its attack are women and children, and indeed, they are almost its only

victims; for, though men do not entirely escape, they are much less apt to perish under the disorder than the more tender sex and age.

The seat of the complaint is in the interior part of the throat, as the term implies. It first appears in little white, or ash-coloured spots, on the uvula, which is, that little fleshy and pendulous body, situated in the middle of the upper part of the throat, and on the fleshy bodies, called the almonds on each side of it. These spots enlarge, and form ulcers, which, extending by degrees, cover at length the whole throat.

Generally, but not always, the disorder commences with a fever. Sometimes the fever does not appear, until the fifth or sixth day, although the disorder has already made a great progress in the throat. The tongue, which was at first covered with a white mucous, now appears with a thick ash or dark-coloured crust.

From the little severity of the fever in many cases, and the total absence of it in some, there is reason to think that the disorder is at first local, and confined to the throat, therefore, to that your attention ought to be principally directed.

The first thing to be done, when we meet with the

disease is, to give a table spoonful of the following mixture.

Take, of tartar emetic, two drachms;
of water, one pint, mix, and keep for use.

This will generally puke the patient, and the operation should be promoted with warm water, to cleanse the stomach, and to excite the action of the vessels of the throat.

If the body be costive, order a common clyster of warm water, with a spoonful of salt, and a spoonful of castor oil, instead of common oil: for the patient cannot bear stronger evacuations: even a gentle purge would be hurtful, and a bleeding might be fatal.

After the vomit and the clyster, give a wine-glassful of the following mixture.

Take, of the powder of Peruvian bark, one ounce;
the powder of controyerva root, three drachms;
Put them in a quart bottle, and fill it with water, shake it well when used, and give a spoonful every two hours.

The intention of this mixture is to prevent the progress of the putrefaction, and to excite a gentle perspiration; but, I rest my own hopes of success principally on the detergents, which are to be applied to the parts affected, with a view to cleanse the ulcers, and to arrest their tendency to gangrene.

In Europe, honey and spirit of vitriol, and other rougher detergents, are used for that purpose; but, in the West Indies, we have one still more powerful always at hand, and which answers the intention so perfectly, that we need not seek for any other; that is, the capsicum, or Cayenne pepper. A small quantity of it may be used with good effect, with warm water, as a gargle; but the best way is, to give in larger doses, as follows:

Take, of the capsicum, or Cayenne pepper, half an ounce;
of vinegar boiling hot;
of boiling water, each a half pint, mix together, and, when cold, strain the ingredients, and give a table-spoonful of it every hour.

This medicine, by exciting a local inflammation in the throat, effectually cleanses the ulcers, and

separates the sound from the unsound parts. It conveys, moreover, its penetrating powers through the stomach, and the whole course of the bowels; and, being of a strongly antiseptic nature, corrects the tendency of the humours to dissolution.

Some gentlemen have employed different preparations of mercury, so as to excite a copious spitting, for the cure of this disorder, and, as they assert, with the greatest advantage. Upon their authority, therefore, it may be tried, when other remedies fail of success; but I cannot speak from my own experience of its effect.

The patient should be supported with sago, or the powder of Indian arrow root, mixed in boiling water, to which, a few spoonfuls of red-port wine are added.

He should be kept apart from the other negroes, in a well-aired apartment, as the disorder is highly infectious.

After the disorder begins to disappear from the throat, a few doses of bark may be given three or four times a day, to restore the strength and appetite of the patient.

The Inflammatory Sore Throat, or Quincy.

Though it attacks the same part, it is in a different way, and is of a contrary nature from the former.

Upon looking into the throat, you will discover an unusual redness and swelling, but no appearance of ulcers.

If the pain and swelling be very great, you may draw half a pint of blood.

Give ten drachms of purging salts, dissolved in half a pint of boiling water.

Bathe the feet in warm water.

Let the patient gargle his throat very frequently with warm water; and let a poultice, of cassava bread and milk, be applied to the throat, and renewed every four hours, or oftener, if necessary.

By these means, the inflammatory sore throat, so far as I have had an opportunity of observing it among the negroes, is always subdued; no case having occurred, where it destroyed the patient, or where blisters were required for its removal.

The Small Pox.

There is but little occasion to describe this disorder, which, in its first attack, the most skilful may mistake; and, in its further progress, can hardly be mistaken by the most ignorant.

We all know, that it may be communicated by the air, and by contact, and that, when received by natural infection in one of those ways, it is attended with a considerable degree of danger; if by artificial infection, or inoculation, by very little; therefore, in these islands, we were early in adopting this process, which we have continued with the greatest advantage, to the present day.

Formerly, it was thought essential to commence with an elaborate preparation of purges, and a mortified diet, rejecting all flesh meats, spices, &c.; but now the process is simplified, and preliminary starving is not found to be necessary. If two or three purges, and a little abstinence, succeed the inoculation, it is, perhaps, more than the case requires; as experience has discovered, that even that may be dispensed with, and that the patient may be

committed to the operation, without any preparation whatever, either antecedent or subsequent. Yet, as two or three doses of purging salts spoil nothing, they may as well be given.

When the small-pox is known to be in the island, and you are desirous to obviate the possible danger of a natural infection, as you doubtless will be, you have only to provide a quantity of cotton thread, which has been charged with the pocky matter, by being drawn through the ripe pustules of an infected negro; or else, to procure one who has the ripe eruptions upon him.

If you inoculate with the thread, you must cut off about a quarter of an inch of it, and, after making a light incision with a lancet through the skin of the arm, above the elbow, so that there is the least possible appearance of blood, deposit the thread in the wound, and cover it with a bit of sticking-plaster. If you perceive, in three or four days after, any appearance of inflammation about the wound, you have reason to conclude the infection has taken place; and still more so, if, in two or three days more, you discover a small pimple on the wound. This pimple is almost decisive of the effect of the inoculation, yet not so entirely as to remove every doubt, unless it is followed by erup-

tions about the twelfth day, or earlier, or, at least, with a fever about the ninth; for, if there be neither pustules, nor fever, some doubt may be entertained of the patient having had the disease; and, for greater security, the operation may be repeated, though, in all probability, it will turn out that the infection really took place.

The wound in the arm requires no dressing, unless a considerable ulcer has followed the incision, as it sometimes will do.

If the other method be preferred, of inoculating directly from an infected person (and it certainly is preferable, where one is to be had, both from the greater facility of the operation, and certainty of its success) the patient, with the pustules upon him, should be introduced into an apartment close to where the negroes are to be inoculated, but out of their sight. They are to be called up one by one, and a little matter being taken on the point of a lancet, from one of the pustules, is to be inserted under the skin, or infused into a very light scratch, to be made with the point of a lancet. A second scratch may be made within a quarter of an inch of the former, in order to obviate the possibility of a miscarriage.

The same appearances will ensue on the wound in

this case as in the other, and the same conclusions may be drawn from them, with respect to the effect of the inoculation.

Persons inoculated in either of these ways, have the disorder, for the most part, very mildly, though they have undergone no preparatory regimen, not even that of a purge: for greater security, however, it is usual to give, on the day after the inoculation, the following.

Take, of Epsom salts, ten drachms, dissolve them in half a pint of boiling water.

Give a second purge on the fourth day, and a third on the eighth.

If you are near to the sea, three parts of a pint of salt water will answer the purpose equally well as the Epsom salts.

I have found no necessity for mercurial medicines for the preparation of negroes.

It is very rarely that adults die of the small pox, taken in this way. Of children, from four years and under, there is no certainty. Accidents will sometimes happen, against which there is no guarding; therefore, infancy is not the most eligible season for the operation; but, as the chances, at any age, are more than one hundred to one in their

favour, it is better to inoculate where danger approaches, than to hazard the disorder by natural infection. In several cases, I have inoculated within one hour after the birth, and the children have all done well.

In whichever way the negroes are inoculated, it will be advisable, as soon as the eruptive fever appears, to prevent them from keeping themselves too warm, either by approaching the fire, or by wrapping in a blanket.

The whole number of the inoculated should be under your eye at this critical period. They may be exposed to the air in cool situations, to suppress the eruptions, the danger being in proportion to their abundance about the head and face.

After the fever is over, if the eruptions are few, the negroes may return to their work in the field without inconvenience. If the eruptions be very numerous, either by inoculation, or natural infection, they should remain in the sick-house. If the cough is troublesome, or the patient harrassed at night, he may take, every evening, from twenty to five and twenty drops of liquid laudanum; and the nurse should be directed to give him barley water, or water gruel, very frequently, and some pap, or panada, three or four times in the day.

Where the symptoms run very high, great danger is to be apprehended as the disorder approaches its height; and I despair of being able to impart to the reader, such rules as will enable him to conduct his patient properly through the disorder; it is, therefore, highly proper, in such an extremity, to resort to some able practitioner.

In general, however, it may be observed, that, in the West Indies, the patient should be kept in a cool, well-aired room, and be encouraged to sit up as much as his strength will permit him to do.

His diet should be chiefly panada and rice.

His drink, cold water, with or without sugar, barley water, water or rice gruel, which he should take frequently, if no more than a tea-cupful at a time, for it is absolutely necessary to dilute.

If the patient be harrassed with efforts to vomit, he should take a gentle emetic of twenty-five grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, to unload the stomach, and to fill the pustules, which sometimes it will effect.

If a purging comes on, twenty grains of the powder of rhubarb may be given, and some rice gruel, in which a little cinamon has been boiled. If the purging continues, notwithstanding the rhu-

barb, let the negro take two table-spoonsful of the following julep every two or three hours.

Take, of chalk, three drachms, rub it well in a mortar, with two spoonsful of syrup; then add half a pint of water, and shake the bottle at the time of use.

Stronger astringents should not be employed, unless the purging be so violent, as to threaten a danger greater than would result from their use. Twenty drops of laudanum may be repeated every night, towards the height and decline of the disorder.

If the patient be costive, a clyster of salt water, with a table-spoonful of castor oil should be injected every night.

As soon as the pustules begin to change their colour, and to dry up, a stronger purge should be employed, such as

Powder of jalep, twenty-five grains; or,
Ten drachms of Epsom salts, dissolved in half a pint of boiling water.

After the disappearance of the eruptions, when the bowels have been cleansed by the purges above-mentioned, of the matter accumulated in them, give a teacupful of the infusion of bitter ash, with one spoon-

ful of old rum twice a day, to restore the strength of the negro, which will have been considerably impaired by the disease.

I have been thus particular in describing the process of inoculation, because it will frequently be undertaken by the proprietor of the estate, or the manager, to save the doctor's fee, for that which may safely be done without his assistance.

The Cow Pox.

Though the chance of escaping the untoward symptoms of the small pox, by the process of inoculation, be so great as to be little short of a certainty, yet, as there is some danger even in that case, if that could be avoided, it certainly ought; and, fortunately, it happens, that the means have lately been discovered, of obviating the small pox

altogether, by an inoculation with matter taken from the eruptions on the teats of a cow, which appears to be of a nature so analogous to the small pox, as to prevent the possibility of its infection at any future period.

The knowledge of this extraordinary phenomenon had long floated in the minds of a great number of the lower class of people, who were in the habit of milking cows in different parts of the kingdom; but there it rested. Their reflections were never urged to a view of the immense practical advantages that might result from it. That honour was reserved for Dr. Jenner, an ingenious physician of Gloucester. He it was who first seized the detached facts, who embodied them into one mass, and brought forth the discovery to public notice with such collective weight of evidence, as gained the immediate attention of the faculty. They were excited to a repetition of the experiments, all of which, now numerous, in different parts of the world, have tended fully to establish the position, that the cow pox is an effectual preventive of the small pox.

There have, indeed, been some feeble attempts to invalidate this fact; but with no better success than that which attended the efforts of former incredulity, which endeavoured to prove, that inocu-

lation for the small pox was no guarantee against its recurrence by natural infection.

Upon the whole, this discovery is the most valuable acquisition; the most complete and decisive, ever gained to medicine, since it was first cultivated as a science.

Columbus brought a new world to our view, and thereby opened a commerce of miseries, before unknown to either hemisphere. Jenner has narrowed the scale of human afflictions, and gained, as a recompence, ten thousand pounds. But what are ten thousand pounds, when balanced with the advantage secured by his discovery? which, if urged to its utmost extent, promises no less than a total extermination of one of the most fatal diseases to which humanity is subject.

A land or naval victory, which sends thousands of the enemy, and almost as many of our own countrymen, to another world, obtains high distinctions. The fortunate commander is ennobled and enriched with pensions, descending to posterity not yet called into existence.

Parliamentary, or forensic loquacity, which misleads the senate, and combats with as strenuous a zeal for injustice as for justice, as accident determines the retainer, soon clamours itself into emi-

nence, and must make an unlucky choice of party, if it stops short of a peerage.

But the universal benefactor of the species,—he who saves, not destroys,—who rescues the tender bud of beauty from the spoil of disease, to enrapture the senses of man with its more expanded bloom, is thought to be adequately compensated with a pecuniary gift of ten thousand pounds. Oh partial distribution of justice! how little is that merit regarded, which does not fulminate its pretensions in a tone of imperative demand!

The inoculation for the cow pox is performed in the same manner as for the small pox. The puncture of a cobler's awl, by an unskilful hand, has produced the same effect as the lancet of the most expert surgeon; no danger attending the operation, and very little inconvenience; the only untoward symptoms being sometimes a pretty smart fever about the eighth or ninth day, and an inflammation of the arm, which soon yields to fomentations and poultices. The scab on the wound should not be taken off, but be allowed to fall of itself.

Were the matter of this mild disease to be obtained at all times in the West Indies, the preceding detailed process for the small pox would have been unnecessary; but, as this latter disorder is sometimes

imported in Guinea ships, and sometimes is introduced by other means, we scarcely know how, it is proper to prevent its ravages by inoculating with it, where the other is not to be had.

The Measles.

This disorder, though frequently of a mild character, is, at other times, no less fatal than the worst kinds of the small pox, especially when combined with the flux, as it is apt to be among negroes.

It appears first with a chilliness, shivering, pain of head, soreness of the throat, sickness, and generally with all the symptoms which accompany other fevers, and cannot be distinguished from them, but by a heaviness about the eyes, with a swelling and inflammation, the eyes themselves possessing great acuteness of sensation, and emitting sharp tears, which flow down the cheeks.

The same humour trickles also from the nostrils, and excites frequent sneezings.

These symptoms are soon succeeded by a vexatious dry cough, great oppression, and often with reachings to vomit, sometimes a looseness of the bowels, and, at others, with sweats.

Together with these symptoms, there are appearances of very small eruptions, resembling fleabites, not confined to any particular part of the body, but more particularly attacking the face and neck. They afterwards unite; and, in negroes, are more perceptible to the touch than to the eye. About the fourth day, these eruptions begin to disappear; the skin peels off, but the other symptoms continue till the ninth or tenth, when the fever abates, with some critical discharge by sweat, or urine; but the cough still remains, and sometimes with increased violence.

There is a considerable degree of resemblance between this disorder and the small pox; for they neither of them attack more than once, and they require almost the same treatment; except, that the lungs being more affected by inflammation in the measles, bleeding is almost essential to strong robust negroes, and sometimes is required even to children, where the fever runs high, and the cough is very urgent. In that case, as in all others of danger, the patient should be withdrawn from the

public room, into one more retired, where he can be specially attended to.

He should not be kept very hot, nor should he be exposed to a current of air, though the air should circulate freely in the apartment.

He should drink frequently of weak drinks, luke-warm, such as thin gruel, barley water, and sugar and water, which, for the purpose of dilution, answers as well as any other.

Give a table-spoonful of the following mixture every four hours.

Take, of salt of nitre, half an ounce;
Essence of antimony, half an ounce;
Water, half a pint: mix them together.

If the head-ach, and oppression of the lungs be very great, a blister ought to be applied between the shoulders.

As soon as the eruption begins to disappear, if the cough be very troublesome, it should be appeased, and rest procured, by taking a tea-cupful of the decoction of wild liquorice, with five drops of liquid laudanum, every four or five hours, but particularly at night.

If the negro be young, fewer drops of the laudanum must be used; for I again repeat, that it is to

be observed, the doses, throughout this book, are adapted for grown people, and that they must be diminished in proportion for younger ones.

If a purging should come on, it ought not to be checked suddenly by astringents. Instead of them, give ten grains of the powder of rhubarb, and repeat the dose in eight hours after. This, with the laudanum, which is given to appease the cough, will generally prevent the purging from becoming too violent.

On the other hand, the negro should not be allowed to be too costive, for a stool must be procured every day with a clyster, as follows:

Take, one large table-spoonful of salt;
one spoonful of oil;
boiling water, a pint dissolve, and, when lukewarm, let it be injected.

If that be found insufficient to unload the bowels, let the patient take a tea-spoonful of castor oil in some barley water, or gruel, every three hours, until it procures a stool.

After the eruption and fever have entirely disappeared, and there remains only a vexatious cough, If that be violent, it will be proper to apply a small blister to the chest, and to keep it open with a few cantharides, mixed with the ointment of yellow

basillicon, spread upon a bit of rag, with which, the sore is to be dressed daily.

Water, with a little sugar, or light decoction of the wild liquorice, may be given frequently for his common drink; and he should be allowed to sleep under a moderately warm covering at night, in a dry well-aired room.

Diet, somewhat more substantial, should now be given him; such as rice, sago, portable soup, vegetables, and some fresh meat, from your own table.

When he goes abroad, it should only be, when the weather is dry, and with a flannel waistcoat, to protect his lungs, which frequently remain affected for many weeks; and, if neglected, may lay the foundation for a consumption.

Sore Eyes.

Negroes are frequently troubled with sore eyes, and sometimes very obstinate ones. If they do not

threaten life, they sometimes deprive them of the use of a precious organ, which, as a man has only two of them, he would willingly preserve, considering its great utility, and that a very possible chance might deprive him of the other, and so consign him to darkness for the remainder of his life.

When a negro is attacked with sore eyes, if the inflammation be slight, it will be proper to put him in a room, where there is neither fire nor smoke, and but little light. Let his eyes be covered with a piece of linen rag, bound round the forehead, but so as not to press tightly upon it, and bathe the eyes frequently with warm water.

If the inflammation be very considerable, draw half a pint of blood from the arm, and give one of the following purges.

Three quarters of a pint of salt water; or,
Ten drachms of Epsom salts, dissolved in half a pint of boiling water.

If the inflammation continues, repeat one of the purges every third, or fourth day, for three times.

Let the negro have plenty of diluting drinks, such as sugar and water, barley water, or water gruel.

Let the eye be bathed with warm milk and water; let a bread and milk poultice be applied to one or both eyes, according as they are affected.

If the inflammation, after a few days trial of the above means, does not subside, but seems rather to increase, lay aside the poultice, and apply rags, dipped in the following collyrium, and repeatedly moistened with it, as fast as they grow dry. A few drops of the same collyrium may also be dropped into the eyes, after the lids have been drawn aside for that purpose.

℞ of white vitriol, half a drachm;
of boiling water, six ounces; dissolve in a marble mortar, and filter the solution through whited-brown paper.

To this collyrium, ten grains of camphire may be added with advantage. They must be rubbed in the mortar with the vitriol, before the boiling water is poured upon them.

If the eye be very painful, one drop of liquid laudanum, added to a little of the collyrium, may be dropped into each eye.

If the eyes, notwithstanding the above treatment, still continue to grow worse, and the negro be of a robust constitution, it may be necessary to draw six ounces more of blood from the arm, and to apply blisters, either between the shoulders, or behind the ears, and to continue the discharge for a considerable time with the blistering ointment.

It is seldom that the inflammation is not to be subdued by these means; yet, cases sometimes occur, which baffle every mode of treatment that can be devised, and the eyes remain so long disordered, as to induce a suspicion of the loss of sight: yet, at last, nature, admirable workman! does the business, after the efforts of art have been totally relinquished, the inflammation gradually disappearing, and the eyes recovering a perfect vision, to your great surprise, and the greater comfort of the patient, so that, in the worst cases, though there may be cause enough of alarm, there is none of despair.

In these very desperate cases, a seton between the shoulders would be found very useful.

After the disease has disappeared, it would be unadvisable to let the patient go all at once into the open air. He should admit the light by slow degrees; and the covering over his eyes should be removed by piecemeal, until they are prepared to meet the full effulgence of the sun.

Rheumatism.

This disorder, though very common in the colder climates, is more rare in the West Indies, from the freer perspiration, yet it sometimes happens even there, and with pretty considerable severity.

It is of two kinds; the one called acute, when attended with inflammation; the other chronical, without inflammation.

It may attack any part of the body; but is found most to affect the shoulders of negroes.

In general, it is a disorder tractable enough with us, requiring neither much confinement, nor many remedies.

When a negro complains of a pain of the shoulder, or any other joint, or muscle, and you have reason to think he does not pretext a disorder, to be excused from work, it will be proper to order the part to be rubbed with high wines, either with or without camphire, as he expects much from them, and thinks himself unkindly treated if they are omitted. We know that the imagination is no

mean agent, and we should at all times endeavour to enlist it in our service.

Next apply a piece of flannel, and it is probable that more will not be required. If the negro finds himself a little better, he may return to his work, and the hoe will expel what remains of the complaint.

It does not, however, always yield with so much complacency; for sometimes it is accompanied with a pretty smart inflammation, and then it will be necessary for you to apply the lancet.

Draw eight ounces (half a pint) of blood from the arm, and give forty drops of the essence of antimony every four hours, in some warm sweet water, or water gruel.

Let the patient take some warm drink very frequently, to assist in promoting and sustaining the perspiration, which it should be your endeavour to excite.

If the negro be costive, let the following clyster be given daily, to procure a stool.

Take, of common salt, a table-spoonful and a half;

Boiling water to dissolve it, a pint, and inject blood-warm.

If that fails of producing a sufficient effect, give a tea-spoonful of castor oil every two hours, until that purpose is answered.

Sometimes, though rarely, the disorder continues refractory after these means have been used, and it becomes expedient to employ others somewhat more powerful.

In that case, apply a blister to the part affected; and give, when the negroes are locked up for the night, the following:

Take, of essence of antimony, two drachms;
Liquid laudanum, twenty-five drops
mix.

This may be repeated as a powerful sweat for a few nights, if the rheumatism continues to require it, which there is reason to think it will not do. If it does, you may resort to the bark, after the above evacuations have been premised, and give a tea-spoonful of the powder three times a day, with forty drops of the essence of antimony.

A small tea spoonful of the powder of gum guaicum may also be given in some syrup every night, and frequently with so great an effect, as to render all other medicines unnecessary.

When the negro is sufficiently recovered to go

abroad, it should not be without his warm jacket, and the flannel is to be removed from the part that was affected by degrees. If near enough to the sea, he may bathe in it every day; but, if that be out of his reach, he may make use of the fresh water, staying in it only long enough to take two or three plunges.

The Mal D'Estomach, or Dirt-eating.

When a negro is languid and listless, and so much indisposed to motion, as to require to be impelled to it by threats; when he is short-breathed, and unable to ascend a hill without stopping, his efforts for that purpose being accompanied with a throbbing of the temples, and a violent palpitation of the heart; when he complains of giddiness, his lips being pale, and his tongue white, you may know him to labour under that disorder, which the French call the mal d'estomach, and the English, after them,

by the same name, or dirt-eating; from the propensity which there is, in that case, to eat chalk, or clay, or some other kind of dirty substance.

This disorder, which is a very common one in the islands, is an effect of relaxation, and its natural concomitant, an impoverished state of the blood, arising commonly from a mean and unsubstantial diet, not, as hath been generally imagined, from the eating of dirt, which, though it may aggravate the evil, and, if habitually persisted in, may render it altogether incurable, is, I believe, seldom the primary cause of it; as the same propensity exists, in many cases, where there can be no suspicion of the appetite, having been so preternaturally indulged. I say a mean diet is commonly the cause of the disorder among negroes, because it is not always so, it being produced also by any other cause, which induces a laxity of the solids, so as to render them incapable of working up the blood to such a degree of consistence, as is necessary for the well-being of the machine. The power of the passions, in producing that effect, is very well known; and we find that negroes, labouring under any great depression of mind, from the rigorous treatment of their masters, or from any other cause, addict themselves singularly to the eating of dirt.

Young girls of any complexion, at a certain time of their lives, before their periodical evacuations appear, or after they appear, if they are irregular in their returns, are also subject to it, and have the same propensity to unnatural diet.

This disorder, which, as I before observed, is very common on West India estates, is also one of the most obstinate and troublesome that negroes are afflicted with. It disables them from effective labour for a very considerable time, sometimes for years, and often terminates in a dropsy. But, though it may be looked upon as always having a tendency that way, the patient may be frequently rescued from it, if due means be timely embraced, and continued as long as the disorder exists, and are resumed on the least appearance of its return, which may be expected.

The necessity of correcting the opinion commonly entertained of the cause of this disorder, and the erroneous practice founded upon it, having led me into a further investigation of its nature, than I have thought necessary to bestow on the other complaints of negroes, we will next proceed to the cure.

If the disorder arises from a depression of spirits, or from the vexatious treatment of the master, that

must be corrected; for negroes are sentient and sensible beings; with cheerful minds, they are capable of doing a great deal; but, if broken hearted, you are to expect only impotent efforts, and mortal disease.

Towards affecting a cure, evacuants contribute but little; yet, as the stomach and bowels are loaded with dirt, or some other indigestible matter, it will be proper to begin with an emetic:

Take thirty grains of the powder of ipecacuanha; give it in the evening, and promote the operation with large draughts of water.

The next morning give a purge, of a table-spoonful and a half of castor oil.

After the stomach and bowels have been cleansed, you are to put the patient on a course of steel and bitters.

Take, of the filings of iron, one pound;
of the powder of ginger, one ounce;
of molasses, sufficient to form an electuary.

Give the quantity of a nutmeg of this electuary every morning and evening, and wash it down with a wine-glassful of the bitter infusion recommended in the chapter on flatulent colics.

As these medicines will be in constant demand, it will be necessary to have a supply of them always at hand for the nurse to resort to.

With respect to the diet, that should be of a nutritious kind, and ample in quantity. Exclusive of the pot mess, you must give them meat from your own table, with some glasses of wine or porter every day; which not only contributes to strengthen the body, but renders the negroes more tractable in other points of their regimen; for they are seldom unmindful of benefits received during their illness, and it is then, if ever, that they are susceptible of gratitude.

Exercise is also essential to the cure of this disorder, which gains ground by every indulgence of their propensity to repose. You will have great difficulty in rousing them from it; for, to a negro so indisposed, motion is worse than death. No means, however, must be spared to get them to move. Caresses, bribes, or threats must be employed; for, unless they are awakened to exertion, you must abandon all expectations of their recovery. They must not be suffered to lounge much in the sick-house: neither are they to be allowed to walk about by themselves, out of sight of the house, as they will then throw themselves on the ground,

and indulge in their favourite pastime of dirt-eating. If incapable of doing more, they must be kept about the yard, and be employed in weeding, or sweeping it, in sight of the family. Work must be contrived to accommodate them. Sometimes they may ride on a mule, or in a cart; for something must be done, be it ever so little.

When, by these means, your negroes have acquired a little strength, and are firm on their legs, as they will be, if properly treated, you may allow them to accompany the grass gang; the driver of which should have it in charge, to keep them in action, and to prevent them from eating dirt.

If their strength be considerably improved, they may be transferred to the weeding-gang, until upon the re-establishment of their health, and the full recovery of their powers, they are dismissed to their proper class; care being taken, during their whole treatment, that they sleep in the hospital every night, and that they continue to take their medicines twice a day long after their apparent cure, and return to the labours of the field.

Their clothing should be somewhat warmer than that which they wear on ordinary occasions. They should never be without their jackets, nor be exposed abroad in windy or rainy weather. But, as it

would be improper to let them indulge in the hospital, they must be busied in some way, if not beneficially for the estate, at least for themselves.

Sometimes, when negroes have been long indisposed with this complaint, and notwithstanding the means used, no progress is made towards a recovery, they have been put on board of a ship in the harbour, or been allowed to make a voyage.

From navigation, and a change of climate, great advantages may be expected, if the opportunity be properly improved; as they are better fed, have a change of air, and are put out of the reach of such substances as are improper for them to eat; but, as it is at present managed, they seldom obtain a cure. This, I take, to be owing to their exposure to the night air, perhaps to the rain, when sleeping on the deck, and perhaps to a neglect of the auxilliary means of steel, bitters, and regular exercise, there being no person sufficiently interested in their welfare, to charge themselves with such a detail; therefore, I think it better for you to keep them on the estate, under your own eye, than to risk them on ship-board under such disadvantages.

With respect to the mouth-pieces, which, though fallen into general discredit, are still occasionally used by some in the French islands, they must be

condemned, as a detestable expedient to obtain an end, which goes but a short way towards the removal of the evil; for, though it be extremely desirable to prevent them from eating dirt, that should be effected by other means than the mechanical interposition of an unsightly instrument, which, by fretting and tormenting the patient, does infinitely more harm than good.

Still stronger, if possible, are the objections to the use of the whip, which has been employed by some with the same intention, though never with success. Negroes are to be restrained from the practice as much as possible, by the milder means of vigilance, persuasion, and good feeding; and, if ever it be found necessary to intimidate them, let it be with an emetic, which occasions a disagreeable nausea, and discharges, at the same time, the offensive contents from the stomach. But, after all, certain it is, that negroes continue to eat dirt for a long time, with less injury than one might expect; and the only effectual way to correct that appetite is, to strengthen the stomach by the remedies abovementioned, which being effected, the love of dirt will be found to give way to the more rational desire of something that is better.

I have made no mention of sorcery, as a cause

of this disorder, though the idea of its influence, which often prevails with negroes, may have an exceeding bad effect upon them. As reason can effect nothing in such cases, artifice should be employed to remove the impression.

The Dropsy,

Which is one of the most fatal complaints, where it attacks in Europe, is much less so in the West Indies, though much more frequent. The reason of this is, that, in the former climate, it arises from diseases in the organs within the body, or the viscera, which are, in themselves, incurable; and in the West Indies it proceeds, most commonly, from relaxation only, and, not unfrequently, from an obstruction of the perspiration.

Dropsies are preternatural effusions of water into the cavities of the body; and have different appellations, according to the parts which are affected. There are dropsies of the head, of the chest, of the

belly, of the lungs, and of the whole body; with the technical terms of which, it is not necessary to oppress the memory of the readers, for whom this work is designed, it being sufficient to observe, that two only can become the subjects of their treatment, with any rational hope of success; namely, the diffused, or general dropsy, and the dropsy of the legs and belly.

To the diffused dropsy, the seat of which is immediately under the skin, and among the muscles, negroes are very subject. It is found in a great proportion of those who arrive from the coast of Africa, when first taken out of the ship. They are sometimes swoollen all over, but rather more in the face than elsewhere, their eyes being scarcely visible from the surrounding parts being distended with water.

In this case, the swelling arises from an obstruction of perspiration, occasioned by their being taken from between the decks of the ship, where the heat is great, and the perspiration proportioned to it, and suddenly exposed to respire a much colder air, even when asleep; in consequence of which, the pores of the body are closed, and the perspiration totally checked.

It will appear also, even among negroes who

have been domesticated on the plantation, if they sleep, exposed to the weather, after their pores have been previously opened by labour.

In general, in cases such as these, where the swelling appears suddenly, it is attended with but little danger, and is easily removed; all that is necessary for that purpose being to clothe the negroes with a warm jacket and trowsers, and to cover their heads with a woollen cap, and to keep them in moderate exercise during the day. At night, when they retire to rest, let it be in a room where the air has not too free an access, and furnish them with blankets, to wrap themselves in. A little strong grog may be given with advantage when they go to sleep.

By these simple means, very considerable swellings disappear in a few days; and the negroes, being accustomed by degrees to a colder air, are enabled to sleep in it without any return of their complaint.

Should that, however, not be the case, after six or seven days trial, it will be advisable to shake the body with a puke, as follows:

Take, of tartar emetic, three grains;
of water, two spoonsful, mix and give
in the evening, and do not let the

negro take any water to promote the puking, as it should work off of itself.

This has generally a good effect in removing the swelling; but, should it still continue, you must keep the negro much out of the cold air, allowing him only to go into it for the sake of exercise, and order the sick-nurse to rub his body all over, twice or three times a day, pretty roughly, with a hand wrapped up in flannel, or with a flesh-brush. He should be fed with a more generous diet from your own table, and have a glass of wine given to him now and then. At night, he may take a tea-spoonful of the essence of antimony.

It will rarely be found, that swellings, contracted in the manner I have above described, and arising from obstructed perspiration, will not yield to one or other of the above methods, if persevered in for a short time: but dropsies, with the same symptoms of universal diffusion arise also from weakness, or a general relaxation of the body; and these cases, though generally to be cured, are less tractable than the others, and require a different mode of treatment.

As they are caused by relaxation, it is not proper that medicines of any kind should be given, which

have the power of evacuating, either by stool or vomit, or perspiration; but you must have recourse to such as stimulate the body, and excite a brisker circulation of the blood. For this purpose, nothing is better than steel medicines and bitters.

Give the size of a nutmeg of the steel electuary, recommended for the mal d'estomach, together with a wine-glass of the same bitter infusion twice a day.

Let the diet be good and nourishing; such as animal food, puddings, and biscuit, and give it three times a day, with a large wine-glassful of port wine, or a little old rum and water, at every meal.

The patient should be obliged to rub his body and limbs all over very forcibly with a flesh-brush, two or three times a day. He should be kept constantly covered with a warm jacket, and be obliged to take a good deal of exercise, even to the moderate use of the hoe, if he can bear it without much fatigue. Care ought to be taken that he is never exposed to the rain, or be suffered to lie on the ground.

Dropsical swellings of this kind frequently attack negroes, who, for their transgressions, have been too long confined in a chain; which, for that reason, ought to be banished from every plantation, espe-

cially such as are heavy, and press on the neck, so as to impede the circulation. The symptoms usually disappear on the removal of the chain; but, in some cases, where it has been too frequently repeated, and too long continued, the constitution is broken down, and the negro is long in recovering, if he recovers at all.

Negroes also, who are exposed to the steam of the boiling house, particularly if they are newly imported, are very subject to dropsies. It is not every one of them who can make a boiler: he must be constitutionally fitted for the business, by being enabled to resist the hot vapour from the coppers, in which he is perpetually involved, and the heat of the floor on which he stands. Some managers, by not attending to this in season, though they see the negroes swell, or imagining that it will disappear, as they become accustomed to the boiling house, detain them there so long in that hope, that their constitutions are irrecoverably ruined, and they die dropsical at the end of a year or two.

When the steam of the coppers is found to have such an effect, the negroes should be removed immediately to other work, and be allowed to return to the coppers only when the swelling has disap-

peared. By degrees, therefore, and with such precautions, a habit may be acquired, and a sufficient number of boilers may be formed for the service of the plantation; though many will miscarry in the attempt, if you allow them to persevere too long at it. Some there are, so happily adapted by nature to the boiling-house, that they sustain the heat of the coppers without inconvenience, from the beginning to the end of the crop.

Dropsies of this kind are cured by the removal of the cause, if it has not been too long continued, by ordering the negro to sleep in a warm room of the sick-house, and by keeping him covered both night and day. He must take the steel electuary, and the bitters, as before recommended, and be supplied with a more nourishing diet than the other negroes. He must be kept at his exercise, and even at moderate labour.

When a negro has remained for any length of time with this general diffusion of water, and sometimes, where there is no general diffusion, but a swelling of the legs only, the belly will begin to swell, and continuing to do so, a large quantity of water will be effused into the cavity of the belly, which being distended with it, will become tight, like a drum.

Taking it for granted that the disease has not gained so much ground without being resisted by the sweating and strengthening medicines above recommended, I shall suppose it arrived at that stage, where it becomes absolutely necessary, from the failure of other remedies, to have recourse to those of greater power.

The first thing to be done in this case is to discharge the water as soon as possible, and that should be first attempted with purgatives. Weak ones will not succeed: they must be such as are of a strong and active power. The following bolus may be given very early in the morning.

Take, of the powder of jalap, twenty-five grains;

of the powder of gum gamboge, five grains; mix them into a bolus, with syrup or molasses.

These ingredients being active, will generally purge the belly very sharply, and reduce its size by the large discharge of water which it procures with the stools. If, however, upon trial, it should be found not to have so forcible an effect, its power may be increased by the addition of five grains of the powder of jalap; and, if they are insufficient, instead

of that quantity of jalap, you may add five grains of the gamboge, according to the following recipe.

Take, of the powder of jalap, twenty grains;
of the powder of gamboge, ten grains;
mix them into a bolus as before,
with syrup, or molasses.

This will be found sufficiently strong for almost any constitution; and, if it purges very sharply, bringing off a great deal of water, and, by that means, reducing the belly, it accomplishes its due effect, and may be repeated after four or five days, to the third or fourth time, taking care to support the patient well from your own table, and with three or four glasses of wine, daily.

In the intermediate days of purging, the patient should take his exercise abroad, by walking somewhere near the house, where you may have your eye on him.

His legs should be rubbed with the flesh-brush, and his belly with the hand, softened with sweet oil, for half an hour at a time, two or three times a day; and he should take the strengthening electuary of steel, with the infusion of bitter ash, as before, twice a day. A small piece of garlic may be chewed and swallowed, morning and evening.

It stimulates the urinary vessels, and often procures a copious evacuation through that channel. If the patient is unable to eat the garlic, from its pungency, it may be bruised in a mortar, and some boiling water poured upon it, which will extract all its virtues. A very strong infusion, obtained in this way, and given to the quantity of a table-spoonful twice a day, is a medicine of no small efficacy in dropsical complaints, and should never be omitted where they are severe.

If you find that the water is not discharged by the purges, after three or four trials, they must be laid aside, as they would otherwise weaken the patient to no purpose; and your hopes of success must rest upon the strengthening diet, and the steel, with bitters and garlic. Should they fail also of the desired effect, and the water collect in the belly in quantity sufficient, it must be drawn off mechanically, by an instrument called a trocar, which, penetrating into the belly, gives the water an outlet, through which it does not fail to escape. But this is an operation, which, though simple, and requiring but little skill, is yet in the province of the surgeon, who must be called to perform it, if you have not before had recourse to his services, as in prudence you ought.

The water being drawn from the belly, your care must be next directed to restore the strength of the patient, by good diet, wine, and steel medicines, as before recommended.

Though the operation of tapping be generally looked upon elsewhere as a palliative, rather than as a cure, yet, in the West Indies, it frequently proves effectual in removing the disorder altogether; but, in order for it to have so good an effect, the negro must not be suffered to remain with his belly filled with water for any length of time, before the operation is performed; for, if he is, the opportunity of obtaining a radical cure will be lost.

The patient must continue his strengthening diet, and medicines long after the disease has disappeared; he must be kept out of the rain, and not be permitted to sleep in the open air, or exposed to its current even under shelter. For which reason, it would be advisable, after he has returned to his work in the field, to let him sleep in the sick-house. He should, throughout the whole treatment, abstain from salt meat and herrings, and, as much as possible, from water.

Of the Locked Jaw.

The term sufficiently explains the disorder, which is much more common within the tropics than elsewhere.

From whatever cause it arises, it generally proves fatal, if from an external wound, almost universally so. I have known it to follow from a bruise on the heel of a negro, by a small stone, and death was the consequence. But, though it generally proves fatal, still, as negroes sometimes do recover, the most eligible means must be employed while life remains, though with ever such discouraging hopes of success.

These means consist wholly in the use of opiates.

When a negro complains of pain in the jaws, and has great difficulty in drawing them asunder, though for a small distance, where the part has received no external injury, you have reason to think he is attacked with this disorder: if after a wound received on the toe, or finger, or the prick of a nail, you may be almost certain of it; but, to be

quite certain, you must immediately give him thirty drops of liquid laudanum.

If they procure no abatement of the pain, or relaxation of the jaws, or disposition to sleep, in two or three hours, the case will appear more plain, and you will, at the end of that time, repeat the same quantity of laudanum.

If that also is followed by neither of those effects, but the jaw becomes more fixed, and there are appearances of spasms, or convulsions of the neck, and the back-bone, or the muscles of the breast, you can have no doubt of the quality of the disorder, and must prepare for a tragical catastrophe.

These doses of laudanum having failed of the effect designed, those which follow must be increased to forty, fifty, sixty, or more drops, which are to be repeated every three or four hours. The quantity of the doses must be entirely regulated by the effects which they are found to produce; for the intention is, to keep the patient constantly in a little slumber; and it is inconceivable how much laudanum will be required to do that.

If the disorder continues, it is with aggravated symptoms. The jaws become so firmly fixed, as not to admit any thing to pass between the teeth, unless there be a vacancy, occasioned by the loss of

some of them. The body is violently convulsed; sometimes it is drawn forward, sometimes backward, and sometimes it is strait and stiff as a board, there being no flexibility in any of the limbs, the patient suffering great apparent agony, from the forcible contraction of the muscles.

In this extremity, you must continue to give the laudanum every three or four hours, in doses, regulated by the effect, as above; if possible, by the mouth; for the patient long preserves the power of swallowing small quantities of liquid; but, at last he loses that also; and you must order the drops to be injected with clysters, composed of strong chicken or mutton broth, which is the only kind of nourishment he will be able to take. He must therefore have a half, or three quarters of a pint of that injected every three or four hours, with twice as many drops of the laudanum in each clyster, that would have been given by the mouth, if that channel had remained open.'

In these distressing circumstances, it is usual to employ other auxiliary means, such as blisters, musk, and camphire, and the bath, both hot and cold; but never with much good effect, that I have observed. If any service is to be expected from medicine, it is from the opium, though it may be

proper to call to its aid every other means that may possibly be beneficial.

Where the locked-jaw has proceeded from wounds of the extremities, whether the hands or feet, it has been thought that a division of the wounded nerve might remove it; but experiments of that kind have not been attended with the success which the imagination suggested.

It was very remarkable that, after two very furious hurricanes, which I witnessed in the islands, when the ground was strewed with shingles, ripped from the buildings, together with the nails, which had attached them to the roof, so that the negroes met with innumerable accidents in their feet, I do not recollect a single instance of a locked-jaw from a wound received at that period, though many might naturally have been expected. Whether this exemption arose from the agitation of the mind on such occasions, which certainly rendered the body less accessible to other complaints, it is difficult to say, though not impossible to believe, from the acknowledged influence of the one over the other. It is, however, advisable, in all cases, where the feet have been penetrated to any depth by a nail, or where there is a bruised wound in any other part, to use means for obviating the consequences, by applying

a poultice, either of cow-dung, or of cassava and milk, to the part, and giving twenty-five or thirty drops of laudanum at night, when the negro goes to sleep, which should be in the sick-house. He is to be prevented from using the wounded limb. A tea-spoonful of the powder of bark may also be given four times a day.

Whatever is to be done in these cases by way of prevention, must be done early; for, after the spasms have once taken place, there remains but little hope from any remedies.

The Tooth-ach.

This complaint, which also occasions some stiffness of the jaws, may, nevertheless, be easily distinguished from the preceding one, by the greater acuteness of the pain, the seat of which, the patient will be at no loss to determine.

It is an affection which negroes are more apt to suffer than any other class of people, from the suck-

ing of canes, the juice of which penetrating to the nerves of the teeth, occasions that painful sensation, of which, few people are ignorant. Life is not threatened by it, though, while the pain lasts, if severe, the negroes are incapable of working, but under a degree of suffering, which no man of humanity would impose. You must, therefore, examine the tooth, to see whether it be rotten or not; for, if not rotten, it may be preserved, and the negro, by a few days indulgence in the sick-house, with a flannel over his jaw, will obtain ease, and may return to his work.

If the tooth be decayed, it ought to be removed, for there is no reason to expect much further service from it; and you would lose much of the negro's labour by frequent relapses, were it to be suffered to remain.

This is effected by a simple operation enough, yet requiring some manual address, not to be learned by words, but by the example of some person who is acquainted with the art. A sensible negro man, who has the proper use of his hands, with a few instructions, will soon learn it; and he must be informed under what circumstances the instrument ought to be applied, and when it would be proper

to withhold it. He should never attempt to extract any tooth, which is decayed so far down to the gum, as not to present a sufficient hold for the instrument, nor any which are situated quite in the back part of the jaw. Operators, who are acquainted with the structure of the parts, may indeed extract in both those cases; but that which science can effect with security, negroes should not be permitted to attempt, lest the patient should suffer by their presumption, though it must be confessed, that accidents very rarely attend even their rashest exertions.

When a negro comes into the sick-house with a complaint of the tooth ach, you ought yourself to examine where the tooth is situated, and what is the state of it, before you allow the instrument to go to work. If you find it easily to be got at, and to afford a good hold, you may consign it to your negro operator, if you do not chuse to undertake the task yourself. If, after one trial, the tooth breaks, a second is not to be hazarded; for it is better for the patient to suffer pain, than to have a fractured jaw.

The gum should always be separated from the tooth by a lancet made for that purpose, before the instrument is applied to extract it.

As soon as the tooth is out, the patient should wash his mouth with a little rum; and, if he be allowed to swallow some of it, he will not only be consoled for his pain, but for the loss of his tooth.

Numerous applications, internal and external, are recommended as palliatives for the tooth-ach. Sometimes they may succeed; but, I believe, it is past dispute, that the instrument is the best and only infallible remedy: however, when it is not proper to draw the tooth, it may be right to do something else, and a few drops of laudanum may be applied on cotton to it.

It may be thought, that this dissertation on tooth-drawing is unnecessarily minute; but whoever considers the frequency of complaints of the teeth, and the almost daily occasion to extract them by hands not over expert at the business, will see reason for the cautions which I have suggested on the subject.

coughs.

Will be so frequent, at certain seasons of the year, as greatly to alarm you. When unaccompanied with fever, or pains of the chest, or sides, they are seldom attended with danger; but if so violent as to harrass the patient very much, both night and day, means must be used for their cure, lest bad consequences should ensue.

If the patient be of a strong habit of body, you may draw half a pint of blood from him,

He should wear a jacket, with a piece of flannel over the chest, to maintain a perspiration in that part, and to defend the lungs.

He must be ordered to sleep in the sick-house, and every night when he goes to rest, he should have a pint of warm water gruel, sweetened with sugar, into which, forty or fifty drops of the essence of antimony have been dropped,

or,

You may give him as much of the decoction of wild liquorice, which your negro nurse will know

how to prepare, with the same quantity of the essence of antimony.

If the cough does not moderate in a few days, you may add to the decoction of liquorice and antimonial drops, twenty drops of laudanum every night, and a perspiration should be encouraged, even during the day, with frequent small draughts of the decoction of liquorice, or of gruel.

Every three or four days, a table spoonful of castor oil should be given, to unload the bowels, and to draw the humours from the lungs.

By these means coughs are generally subdued; or, if they continue, it will be with abated violence. Sometimes, indeed, they run a very long course, resisting every medicine, and yielding only to time itself. Some persons have them constitutionally; and with such they are rather a habit than a disease; for, though violent enough greatly to incommode, they are attended with no other bad effect.

This, however, can be said only of such coughs as are unattended with inflammation, or any deep affection of the lungs, the cause and concomitant of another very fatal disease, known by the name of the

Pulmonary Consumption.

This is known by a dry cough, attended with a quickness of the pulse, occasional flushings of the cheeks, the countenance growing paler and thinner, with a fixed pain in the stomach, or sides, which is increased by coughing.

In the progress of this complaint, the cough is accompanied with a spitting of matter, streaked with blood, and with night sweats.

This disorder, in Europe, arises frequently from an hereditary scrophulous taint; sometimes from a defective structure of the chest, wherein the lungs are seated; but, in negroes, it arises most commonly from an erroneous treatment of their fevers, which attack about the beginning of the year; and, being of the inflammatory kind, require bleeding, which is unfortunately but too apt to be neglected. But from whichsoever of these causes the disease proceeds, if it has made a certain progress, and occasioned ulcerations of the lungs, much is not to

be expected from art, though something should be attempted.

If it be taken in the first stage, before the patient spits blood, or matter, you may entertain better hopes of success.

The treatment of a negro under those symptoms, should commence by withdrawing him from the field to the sick-house, where he should be kept in a room without smoke; then draw six ounces of blood from the arm, and give him frequently, but in small quantities at a time, some warm pectoral drink, such as barley water, water gruel, or a decoction of the wild liquorice, in which a few grains of salt-petre have been dissolved, so that the patient does not take more than a drachm of it every twenty-four hours.

A small blister should be applied to the pit of the stomach, and kept open for a week or ten days, with some of the blistering ointment, spread upon a rag, of the size of the blister, and renewed every day.

After an interval of a few days, a blister, rather larger than the former, may be applied between the shoulders, and kept open for several weeks with the blistering ointment.

The cough is an invariable accompaniment of this disorder, which it exasperates by the vehement agitation of the lungs, suffering the patient to have but little rest in the day, and less at night. Some means must therefore be employed to palliate so troublesome a symptom; and nothing is better adapted to that intention than opium, which, though it may be unfavourable to the disorder in other respects, is indispensible in this.

Give from fifteen to twenty drops of liquid laudanum, in a quarter of a pint of the decoction of wild liquorice, every night, when the negro disposes himself to rest.

He may take also five or six drops of the same laudanum, in some of the same drink, twice in the day.

The negro should sleep with his ordinary covering, in a room which admits some air to ventilate it, but not too much. He should wear in the day a flannel waistcoat, buttoned over the breast, either with or without sleeves, according to the season of the year, and heat of the weather.

His principal nourishment should be of cows' milk, to which, if he could confine himself altogether, he would stand the better chance of a re-

covery. Salted meat, or fish, he should not eat on any account.

If the belly has a tendency to be costive, it must be opened now and then with a table spoonful of castor oil.

Moderate exercise may be taken within view of the house, mornings and evenings; but no violent efforts of any kind are to be made.

The air of the low lands is more favourable in this complaint than that of the mountains: and, indeed, so far as air can contribute to its cure, the best effect may be expected from that which we habitually respire.

The Hooping Cough.

There is another kind of cough, called the hooping-cough, of a nature very different from those before described.

There is little or no inflammation, and it attacks

the same person only once in his life. Some escape without ever having had it, though frequently in the midst of danger; but most people have it once, and that in their infancy.

It is known by the violence and long protracted fits of coughing, accompanied by a certain whooping noise, which gives name to the disease.

Infants suffer greatly, by the severe concussions which their frames undergo from the disorder; and in Europe, are sometimes killed by it, in the West Indies very rarely; for, though the symptoms run high, yet the climate being so much more favourable to pulmonary complaints, the danger is not proportioned to the alarm.

But, if this disorder be not often fatal, it is always vexatious, and runs a course, which art seems to have very little power of abridging. However, it is proper, occasionally, to use some medicines, and, of those, emetics are the best.

If the patient be of a strong and full habit of body, he must lose six or eight ounces of blood in the beginning, to prevent the accumulation of blood in the brain, during the action of coughing.

Next, give a vomit of five and twenty grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, to a man or woman, and less in proportion to a child. Indeed, it must

not escape the recollection of the reader, that the doses of medicines are invariably adapted to adult age, and that they must be diminished at every intermediate stage, from thence to the tenderest infancy.

The day after, give a spoonful of castor oil, to empty the bowels.

Every fourth or fifth day, twelve or fifteen grains of the same powder of ipecacuanha may be repeated, to excite a sickness of the stomach. No warm water should be taken to provoke a puking, as a nausea alone will better answer the purpose designed.

If there be a disposition to costiveness, the bowels should be opened with a dose of castor oil.

Other remedies are usually employed in the colder climates, but with us, these will be found to carry the patient safely through the disorder, though not with the dispatch that impatience might desire.

If you have more estates than one, and those at a distance from each other, it would facilitate the cure, to let the negroes, afflicted with the complaint, remove from one to the other, every week or fortnight, as nothing has been found more beneficial than frequent changes of air. Short trips at sea

would probably be still more useful, and few are the situations in the islands which do not admit of them.

The Gravel

Is known by an acute pain in the back and loins, accompanied with a sickness at the stomach, often by vomiting. The urine is rendered frequently, but with difficulty, in small quantities at a time, and of a high colour. There is an exquisite pain in the yard when the gravel is passing through the urinary canal.

In this disorder, the pain is to be mitigated by opiates, and the warm bath; and the expulsion of the gravel promoted by the castor oil, which is an excellent remedy.

Give five and twenty drops of liquid laudanum in the evening, when going to rest for the night.

The next morning, let the patient take a large

table spoonful of castor oil, which is to be worked off with frequent, but not large, draughts of warm gruel, or barley water.

The same evening, if the pain continues, you ought to repeat the dose of laudanum, to the amount of twenty-five drops, or more, according to its violence; for pain is an anti-opiate, and the power of the medicine must be increased, in proportion to the intensity of the evil.

If the pain be very great, and the patient of a strong constitution, eight ounces of blood may be drawn from the arm; and he may, after that, sit for twenty minutes, or half an hour in a bath of the heat of blood. When taken out of the bath, he should be rubbed dry with a flannel, and be suffered to repose under the cover of a blanket for some time.

The castor oil should be repeated every third day, but in a less dose, if it causes the negro more than three motions.

During the whole course of the complaint, the negro should be supplied with frequent draughts of water gruel, or barley water, with some gum arabic dissolved in it, or with an infusion of sliced ocre.

A scruple of nitre may be taken three times a day, dissolved in any of his drinks.

Emollient clysters, of a pint of water gruel, should be injected twice a day, and retained as long as possible in the bowels, with the design of acting as an internal fomentation.

The disorder generally yields to this treatment in a few days; though, if the pain be occasioned by gravel of greater size, it may last some time longer, and frequent relapses be expected: fortunately, however, the simple aliment of negroes is very little disposed to engender such productions.

Stones, of such magnitude, as to be incapable of being ejected by the natural passages, and to require the operation of a knife, are indeed very rare. Should such occur, relief must be sought in Europe, where practice has given a chirurgical dexterity, not to be expected in the West Indies.

Obstructions.

The cessation of the monthly discharges of negro women before their proper period, and where pregnancy is not the cause, are generally attended with bad effects; the negro is heavy and listless, complains of pains of the limbs, with a paleness of the countenance, with indisposition to labour, and, in general, with all those symptoms which are found in the mal d'estomach. These effects, however, do not invariably follow, and the cases are not very rare, where women, under habitual obstructions, possess as vigorous a state of health, and perform all the functions of nature, that of generation excepted, as well as if they had had their customary evacuations.

Obstructions of this kind are no where more common than among the negroes; sometimes suddenly from their negligence, their exposure to rain out of doors, and to the wind within, at that critical period. In these cases, other evacuations must be

substituted to that which has been arrested, either by bleeding, or purging, or both.

But obstructions of this kind do not arise so much from casual indiscretions, as from the poverty of their fluids, and the general debility of their whole frames; therefore, you must restore a negro to comparative health, before you can put her in a capacity to accumulate that which is the general accompaniment of perfect health, and which nature has intended as a provision for the infant during its embryo state.

Obstructions, therefore, arising from debility, must be cured like all other diseases proceeding from the same cause.

1. By a more abundant and substantial diet of flesh, fish, and bread, together with wine, or porter, or grog, made of old rum.

2. By the stimulating medicines, such as steel and bitters, the best of all drugs for quickening the circulation, and exciting the muscular force of the vessels. The steel may be given in an electuary, with a little of the powder of ginger and syrup, in the quantity of a nutmeg, every morning and evening, with a wine-glassful of bitters, made of the bitter ash, or quassia wood, infused in rum and

water, one part of the former to four of the latter.

3. By the exercise of walking, if the patient be too weak to labour, otherwise by gentle labour; for nothing weakens the body more than a sedentary posture, exertion being, at least as necessary as medicine, for the removal of the complaint.

4. By wearing a woollen petticoat, to keep the loins warm.

5. By keeping out of the rain and evening dews, for moisture is a great relaxant; hence we find, that the mountain negroes are more subject to obstructions, than those who live on lowland estates. For the same reason, care should be taken that the negroes, labouring under complaints of this nature, have dry houses to inhabit, and dry blankets to sleep on. If you suspect them of wandering at night, they should be obliged to lie in one of the apartments of the sick-house. To sum up, in a few words, all that can be said on this head, action, nutrition, and steel, are the sovereign remedies in this, and all other disorders of the same kind proceeding from debility. Indeed, in those cases of obstruction, which either proceed from, or are accompanied with too great a fulness of the blood-vessels,

steel, unless in the shape of a lancet, would be manifestly improper; but, in the West Indies, cases of that kind, which require bleeding, are so very rare, as hardly to furnish an exception to the general rule.

Sometimes, though not often, there is an excess of the periodical discharge, in which case, the negroes should be kept in a state of as absolute rest as possible, and one of the following powders, be given every morning and evening.

Take, of the powder of Peruvian bark, one ounce;
of the powder of alum, four scruples,
mix, and divide it into ten doses.

After the flux has disappeared, a dose or two of the bark may be continued daily for some time.

The Fluor Albus, or Whites,

Is a discharge of matter from the womb, or passage leading to it, either white, or discoloured,

somewhat like that proceeding from the venereal disease, but without the excessive heat of urine.

It is a very common complaint in the West Indies, not only among the negroes, but also with white persons, whom it attacks at all ages, even in early infancy. But, though common, and sometimes very profuse, incommoding and weakening the negro to a degree, which, for a time, prevents her from performing the services of the plantation; yet it is not, in itself, of a mortal nature; and fortunately it is not, for science hath not as yet provided any effectual remedy for it in the West Indies, where, in most cases, all that art can effect, is to restrain the violence of the discharge.

The best method to be pursued for that end is, to give the patient a vomit, of five and twenty grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, to cleanse the stomach, and to shake the system by the force of the vomiting.

Then give a grain, or a grain and a half, of calomel, made into a pill, with soap, every night for a month. If the pills affect the mouth, they should be immediately discontinued, and a purge be given of Epsom salts.

After this method has been pursued for a month, she may have recourse to strengthening medicines;

and let her take, with that view, the quantity of a nutmeg, of the following electuary, twice a day.

Take, of the powder of gum guaicum;
of the powder of Peruvian bark;
of the filings of iron, each one ounce;
make them into an electuary, with molasses.

After a six-week's continuance of this electuary, it may be laid aside for a month, and then resorted to again for as long a time.

The cold bath should be used every day, for no longer a time than to take two or three plunges in it.

The following solution may be injected with a small syringe into the vagina, once or twice a day, in cases, where the discharge is very profuse.

Take, of alum, three drachms;
of water, one quart dissolve, and keep for use.

The Leprosy.

The unhappy victims of this terrible disorder, are very numerous throughout all the West-India islands, and he would deserve well of society, who could point out the means of curing it; but, hitherto, it has baffled all the efforts of art, and that which art, superior to what I possess, has failed of effecting, I shall not presume to attempt; for, indeed, I know no remedy which, when the disorder is clearly ascertained, has the power even of retarding its progress, though the rapidity of that progress is very different in different subjects; for, in some, it performs its career in two or three, whilst, in others, it requires a great many years of lingering misery, to consummate the destruction of its victim, and to relieve him from his painful existence. Nature, in all her vast variety of evils, has none greater than this, which renders a human being odious to himself, and intolerable to others. Even his nearest relatives, formerly the most attached, either avoiding with abhorrence, or enduring him

with a repugnance but ill-disguised. Fortunately, however, the principal objects of its attack are negroes, whose minds have too contracted a scope of reflection, to contemplate at a distance the full extent of their approaching misery, or even to feel it, when present, with that exquisiteness of anguish, which more cultivated men must necessarily do. If ever ignorance is a blessing, it is so in that case. If ever man had a lawful apology for rushing, uncalled into the presence of his creator, he finds it in this most calamitous circumstance. But no! The intensity of an evil cannot legalise that which nature and the divinity hath forbidden! It is for God to chastise, and for man to bow obsequious to the rod, enduring affliction in this life, and waiting his retribution in a better.

But, though this evil be hopeless of cure, yet, as it has been supposed, and probably with truth, susceptible of being extended by contact, it behoves us to use every means to circumscribe its ravages, by removing those already infected with it, to a distance, which admits of no communication with the rest of the gang. There they should remain, secluded from society, or associating only with those who are in the same unhappy condition with them-

selves. They should have ground to cultivate for their subsistence, and be allowed every indulgence compatible with their state, which can tend in any degree to alleviate its rigours.

The first symptoms of this disorder are manifested in the swelling of the nose, lips, and ears; or by elevated spots, a little varying from the natural colour of the skin on the face, and other parts of the body; and sometimes it commences its attack on the fingers, or toes: but, even where these appearances exist, though but too alarming, they are not, in their first degree, sufficiently decisive of the coming evil, to justify the seclusion of the patient in the manner above recommended; however, he should be obliged to sleep in a room by himself, until time shall enable you to pronounce on the quality of the appearances, and either to re-admit him to your gang, or to consign him to the society of the afflicted.

It may be thought, perhaps, that I ought not to have omitted the mention of a remedy, which has, of late, made some noise in the islands, and been pronounced by some as infallible in leprous cases; namely, the flesh of the lizard. It would be presumption to assign limits to the force of the ima-

gination; therefore, lizards may be continued to be used by those who can discover a sufficient degree of faith in their patients, to insure the effect of that power; but I imagine this practice is only a revival of one long since exploded, by substituting lizards to vipers.

The Elephantiasis

Is an enlargement of the legs and feet to an enormous size, where the skin is chapped, rough, black, and hard, and is sometimes attended with a considerable degree of pain, though, in general, there is very little of it.

This disorder, like the former, hath, as yet, acknowledged no cure, though it is less noisome in its appearance, and may exist many years before it disables the patient from his accustomed labour; but it does that at last, and the limb becomes too cumbrous to permit the negro to move about further than his own necessities require; and it would be cruel to exact more from him.

I know not that it is a communicable disease; but, if there be a possibility of its being so, as it is always an unsightly one, it would be proper to remove the negro when the disease has attained that point, to a sequestered part of the estate, where he may still be of some use in watching a plantain walk, or the grounds of the negroes.

It is useless to torment those so afflicted, in this and the former disease, by drugs, which are administered with no hope, and answer no profitable end. Until something more effectual is discovered than what we are hitherto acquainted with for their relief, they may be left to nature, and their own unhappy fate.

Of Worms.

The human body has several troublesome inmates of this kind, different in their structure, and varying in their methods of cure. They are called

either ascarides, round long worms, or tape worms. The two former are found chiefly in children, the latter in grown persons.

The Ascarides

Are small, short, white worms, with sharp heads, which frequent the lower parts of the guts, occasioning a heat and troublesome itching about the fundament; on which account, they are vexatious, though not endangering the health, like either of the other kinds.

They are not easily removed by medicines taken into the stomach only, but require the aid of injections by clysters, which, coming immediately into contact with them, greatly facilitate their expulsion.

Let the negro receive a clyster, of a pint of the strong infusion of bitter ash, daily, for three or four days; then give a table-spoonful and a half of castor

oil, and, during the operation, two or three of the same clysters may be injected.

By this method alone, I have known great numbers of the ascarides to be brought away; but, in order to prevent them from breeding again, it will be necessary to repeat the same process every fortnight, or three weeks, for some months.

Four or five of Anderson's pills, by way of purgative, are of great effect in this complaint, when aided by the bitter clyster.

Long Round Worms.

These worms are either reddish, or white; in shape, like a common earth worm, and are found throughout the whole alimentary canal, from the fundament to the stomach. Sometimes they mount higher, and make their way through the outlet of the mouth.

If not in great numbers, they may exist in the body for a considerable time, without much incon-

venience, there being reason to think, that few negroes are totally free from them; but, if very numerous, they give rise to very bad fevers, and sometimes make their way through the guts into the cavity of the belly, whence death must inevitably ensue.

In general, they may be known to be in the body, when we perceive a child to grow pale, and to lose his flesh, his belly enlarging at the same time, and appearing tight, as if distended with wind. The appetite is frequently ravenous, and there is a small cough and itching of the nose.

Where these symptoms exist, you have reason to think that worms are the cause of them, and must have recourse to medicines adapted to their expulsion.

Various are the drugs employed for that purpose; but you may confine yourself to two or three of great efficacy, which are the production of the islands.

The first is the worm-grass, a weed which few cane-pieces are without. It is a powerful vermifuge; but, as it sometimes produces a stupifaction of the senses, and has occasioned death, some hazard attends its use; and many are discouraged from employing it, though all danger may be ob-

viated with certainty, if administered with caution.

It is unnecessary to describe the means of preparing the decoction of this plant, as that is known to the negroes of almost every plantation; if not, they need not go far to learn it, from some housewife in the neighbourhood, whose practical lessons, repeated a few times, will instruct them better than any written words can do.

When prepared, do not confide the dosing of the medicine to the nurses, but either take it into your own hands, or consign the charge to some white person of the family.

It is usual, when the decoction is prepared of its due strength, which may be pretty well judged of by the eye, to give a half-pint of it, with a little lime-juice and sugar, at bed-time; but as there may have been some error in the preparation, either from the quality of the plant, or from having employed too great a quantity of it, or, from too great an evaporation of the water, accidents, all of which may happen, so as greatly to influence the power of the medicine, and reasonably to be expected, where the business is committed to the careless hand of a negro, it is safer to give, for the first dose, only one half the quantity, or a quarter of a pint of the decoction. Let it be taken about eight o'clock in the evening, so that the nurse may be

able to discover, before she goes to sleep herself, whether it produces any signs of convulsion.

The second night, give three quarters of a half-pint, or six ounces of the decoction.

On the third, give a half-pint; and on the fourth, if no alarming symptoms have followed from the former doses, you may give ten ounces, or rather more than a half pint, always observing the same precaution of having the nurse to watch the patient's movements for two or three hours after he goes to rest; for, as it is possible that some alarming symptoms may arise from the medicine, though very rarely indeed that they do, due means may be used to prevent the consequences.

These means consist in waking the negro, and giving him some lime-juice or sharp vinegar to swallow; and afterwards give two scruples of the powder of ipecacuanha to puke him. The operation may be promoted by draughts of warm water, and by tickling the throat with a feather.

The stomach being so cleared, the patient, after taking some strong wine and water, with a good deal of ginger in it, may again dispose himself to sleep for the remainder of the night.

The morning after the fourth dose of the worm-grass, give a table-spoonful and a half, or two spoonsful of castor oil, to purge the negro very

briskly; for there is no discharging of worms but by purgatives of sharper action than it would be thought prudent to employ on other occasions.

Sometimes a surprising number of worms are brought away by the first trial of this mode of treatment; but, if none appear, you have reason to doubt their existence, at least, in great numbers; however, to be better assured of it, you should have a fresh decoction made of the worm-grass, and repeat the doses as before, following the last of them with a strong dose of the castor oil; and if, after that, no worms are expelled, you may conclude that there are none in the body.

There are many persons who prefer the cow-itch* to the worm-grass, as being equally efficacious, and totally without danger. It is certainly a very excellent vermifuge, and may be used with just expectations of success. It is to be given in the morning fasting, to the quantity of one or two teaspoonsful, mixed with molasses, or thick syrup; and the negro is to be kept with an empty stomach for three or four hours after taking it. The morning after the second dose, give a strong dose of the castor oil, which, in itself, is a medicine of no small power in worm-cases.

* Stizolobium.

To children, whose bellies are much swollen, relief may frequently be obtained from the following powder:

Take, of the powder of rhubarb, ten grains;
of calomel, two grains, mix, and let them be given early in the morning, with syrups.

This powder is adapted to a child, four years old. It may be repeated three or four times, at intervals of three days each. It will frequently expel the worms, if there are many of them; or, if not, it will discharge the viscous humour which lines the bowels, favouring their production, and exhibiting the appearances of worms, where none exist.

If this powder does not ruffle the bowels too much, a third grain of the calomel may be added to it.

Indeed, by a judicious use of calomel, united to other purgative medicines, all the effects to be desired from vermifuges, may be fully obtained.

Those worm medicines, advertised in the London newspapers, as specifics in this complaint, are nothing more than combinations of the same drugs, exhibited in quantities, which the regular faculty would not venture upon; but empirics, having no reputation to lose, hazard the strongest doses, and

sometimes gain enough, by their lucky temerity, to obtain the sanction of respected names to their puffs, and are thus recommended as licensed depredators on the public; their cures only being recorded, while their miscarriages are consigned together with their victims, to the silent grave.

The Tape Worm.

So called, from a supposed resemblance to narrow tape, being flat and white, is infinitely the worst and most dangerous species of worms that inhabit the human body.

It is frequently many yards in length, occupying almost the whole course of the guts. It is the most difficult to be destroyed, and the most easy to be regenerated, as it possesses the power of producing itself, whilst there is a single joint remaining behind.

This worm is accompanied with very acute pains in the bowels, and stomach, and with an uncommon degree of anxiety and oppression about the heart.

Its existence, however, is not to be concluded from those symptoms, as they frequently accompany other disorders; nor, indeed, from symptoms of any other kind, short of an actual discharge of a part of the worm itself.

But, as you may have cause, from appearances, to suspect the presence of a tape-worm, in order to put it beyond a doubt, you must have recourse to very strong medicines to expel it, weak ones being ineffectual for the purpose. The following are the best that have hitherto been discovered.

Take two ounces of the powder of tin, and form them into a thin electuary, with a sufficient quantity of molasses. Of this electuary, let the patient take a third part every night, for three nights successively, and the morning after the third dose, give him the following purge:

Take, of the powder of gum gamboge, one scruple;
of calomel, five grains; mix them together for use, with syrup or molasses.

This is a very powerful purge. It would, perhaps, excite much nausea and vomiting in a white patient, but on the less irritable stomachs of negroes, it has no such effects, and passes off by stool, carry-

ing with it whatever it meets in the bowels, which it purges very roughly. I have, however, known it to produce only three or four stools. In that case, whenever the next dose is given, it ought to be with an addition of three grains of calomel. But the medicine is too harsh to be repeated at random, and without some proof, furnished by the former trial, of there being a tape-worm in the body. Should such a proof appear, as you know the worm is not to be subdued, and finally dismissed, without very forcible operations, you may again recur to the tin, and purge it off with the gamboge and calomel, as before, only in rather an enlarged dose.

By these means, much of the worm may be brought away; but some will, in all probability, remain, to multiply and reproduce itself, which can only be got rid of by frequent repetitions of the same process, after intervals of a fortnight or three weeks, to allow time for the patient to recover from the fatigue of the preceding operation; and, even then, it can hardly be said when the patient is safe from its appearance, such being the obstinacy with which this intestine enemy maintains his post, that a year or two is insufficient to enable you to pronounce upon the cure; therefore, upon every re-

turn of the same symptoms, or perhaps without them, you must again recur to the tin electuary, and gamboge purge.

Of the Guinea Worm.

This singular worm, which is an inhabitant of the human body, but which takes up its residence in a different part of it, from those before described, has been thought peculiar to the coast, from whence it derives its name, and to be imported with the negroes from thence; but that is not the case, as it is also a native produce of some of our islands.

It appears in different parts of the body, among the muscles, and under the skin, though the legs and arms are the principal seats of it.

It manifests its presence by a little tumour, resembling a boil, from the top of which the skin peels, and exposes a small white substance, which being drawn forward, exhibits an appearance, resembling a piece of slender white twine.

The object of the animal in this movement is, doubtless, to disengage itself from a situation which it feels to be inconvenient; and it should be your endeavour to assist him in the undertaking, as it is more than probable that, if abandoned to its own efforts, it will not be able to accomplish an escape so completely as might be wished.

The method to be taken for that purpose is as follows:—As soon as the worm appears, take hold of it with your fore-finger and thumb; or, if you find it impossible to be seized with the finger and thumb, employ a pair of surgeon's forceps for that purpose, and draw it forth until you find a resistance, when you should cease to draw, lest you break it, which is easily done. When you have got it out as far as it will come without violence, turn the part which you have extracted round a cotton thread, doubled up into the length of an inch and a half, to the thickness of the wick of a candle; then put a piece of diachylon, or any other sticking plaster, over the cotton, first observing to interpose a small piece of common rag between the worm and the plaster, just large enough to prevent them from adhering; and cover the whole with a bandage. These precautions are taken to prevent the worm from breaking; and you are to admonish the negro

to be careful to prevent that. The next day you are to remove the bandage, and to renew your attempt to extract the worm as before, turning it round the cotton as it comes out, and discontinuing your endeavours as soon as you find it to resist. Then replace the rag, the sticking-plaster, and bandage.

By this operation, repeated daily, and always with the same gentleness, you may expect to get the worm entire, which is much to be desired; but, should it happen otherwise, you need not be alarmed; for, though it seldom appears again at the same orifice, you may expect to meet with it at some other, not very distant; where, after occasioning a swelling, and some pain, it pushes forth again. Sometimes, indeed, the pain and inflammation are very considerable; and, when it so happens, you should apply a fomentation and poultice. Should the worm perish, and, by corrupting in the part, occasion an ulcer, it must be dressed with basilicon, spread on some lint.

Chigoes.

These too are insects which greatly affect the body of man, and select him as a proper depository for their eggs, until hatched into existence. This preference, however, is not without its inconveniences, which, I imagine, most people would rather decline, if their wishes were to be previously consulted; but no ceremony of that kind is observed, for the chigo is an intruder, which enters without knocking at the door, and once she has effected her lodgment, bestirs herself so notably, in violation of the laws of hospitality, as to become a very troublesome inmate. The evil is aggravated in proportion to their numbers. How negroes, under such circumstances, endure their irritation, as they sometimes do, without an effort to disengage themselves, it is difficult to comprehend, unless they are made of materials very different from our own; for, certain it is, that no white man could resign himself to be preyed upon with an equal degree

of indifference, which not only disdains complaint, but seems also to reject relief.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the first notice which we have of the invading enemy, is not devoid of a sensation bordering upon pleasure; but when the itching which they occasion, so far from being relieved, is exasperated by scratching, it is thought better to submit to a pretty sharp pain to get rid of them.

Creoles, and seasoned negroes, and many, even of new ones, who have understanding, and the use of their hands, suffer but little inconvenience from these vermin, as they never permit them to accumulate in great numbers; but many of the indolent, and particularly the new-comers, are soon crippled, as they have them, not only in their feet, but in their buttocks and elbows, which come in immediate contact with the ground. To such, they occasion ulcers, more or less violent, in proportion to the habit of body; therefore, every means should be taken to prevent them from entering, or speedily to remove them when entered.

Like all other insects, the chigo is averse from grease or oil, therefore, as a preservative, it would be proper to have the feet of such of your negroes,

as are most subject to be attacked with them, washed and greased every morning, and every night, before they go to sleep, with equal parts of lamp oil, and oil of turpentine, or with any other oil or greasy substance. I have sometimes tried the semper vivum, and, as I thought, with good effect: but whatever is applied, should be carefully rubbed into the toes, particularly about the nails, which appear to be their favourite scene of action.

If, notwithstanding these precautions, some chigoes should insinuate themselves into the feet, as they will do, it would be better to let them remain until they have attained a little growth, before you endeavour to extract them, rather than to attempt it whilst they are small, and extremely attached to their habitation.

When they have taken such entire possession of the feet, as to render it an endless labour to exterminate them with a knife, or needles, you must have recourse to another expedient for that purpose. Let the feet be well anointed all over with the oil of turpentine, and afterwards wrapped in a poultice, of the grated cassava root, raw, and with its poisonous juice, which has the power of destroying these animals, in common with many others. As the poultice grows dry, it should be replaced daily by new ones, until the business is completely effected.

After which, the feet should be rubbed with the following ointment.

Take, of common turpentine;
of hogs-lard, each one pound;
of the powder of verdegrease, four ounces;
of the powder of hepatic aloes, three ounces; mix, and keep for use.

It is observable, that these insects abound most in the dry season, and that they are always to be found in dust and ashes, and among shavings. It would be advisable, therefore, to remove all such things as afford them protection, from the places where your negroes resort; and to water them frequently with a watering pot. The sick-house will stand particularly in need of it.

For the extraction of chigoes, your negroes should be furnished with small knives, called chigo knives, which, by their breadth of point, are the best adapted to such a service.

Venereal Diseases

Are too well known experimentally by those who are in the habit of superintending negroes, to require much description; however, something must be said, lest any of my readers, by chance, should happen to be ignorant of their nature.

They are of two kinds. 1. The Clap, or virulent Gonorrhœa: 2. The Pox; both of which are acquired by impure contact.

The Virulent Gonorrhœa

Is a discharge of matter, at first thin, afterwards more thick, and of a green, yellow, or white colour, from the private parts of men or women.

It generally appears in three or four days after a connection with a person infected, and is attended with a tickling heat, and pricking pain of the part, when making urine. Afterwards, it produces inflammation, painful erections, sometimes the skin being drawn down over the gland, at others retracted from it, and there detained by the inflammation; ulcers of the gland itself, and abscesses of the groin.

At the first attack of the disorder, that is, within twelve hours, as it is at that time only local, if it be treated with astringent injections, such as the following, it may easily be removed.

Take, of white vitriol, twenty grains;
of rain water, two ounces dissolve.

Inject four or five times a day, with a very small pewter syringe. A decoction of the guava, or cashew-bark, used in the same manner, will frequently, if employed in this stage of the disease, and preceded by a bleeding, as it ought to be, arrest its progress.

The first stage having been suffered to escape, it would not be prudent to have recourse to the astringent injections abovementioned: therefore, in the cases of negroes, who conceal their situation as much as possible, you can have but few opportu-

nities of effecting so expeditious a cure; but, fortunately, their venereal complaints, which sometimes pervade the whole gang, will disappear after a short time, without leaving behind them any bad effects, though no remedy whatever has been employed; and the disease performs its course in secret, without your having had any knowledge of their having been in that condition.

This will happen nine times out of ten, perhaps nineteen out of twenty, a fact, which strongly evinces the mildness of the disorder, when acting in warm climates, on negroes, in whom, infection appears to be discharged by the skin.

However, severer symptoms sometimes succeed, and such as cannot be concealed from the penetration of the nurses, who are inquisitive enough into these matters, and by no means backward in imparting their discoveries, when they make any.

If, upon examination, you find the pain and inflammation to be great, you must order the negro to be blooded, to the amount of six or eight ounces, and the parts to be bathed frequently with warm water, and a poultice of cassava bread and milk, with a little sweet oil, should be applied twice a day.

Let him drink very plentifully of warm water,

sweetened, with a little nitre in it, so as to consume of that about a drachm and a half every four and twenty hours.

Give a purge of ten drachms of Epsom salts, dissolved in a half-pint of water.

Rub into the part, and under it, along the urinary canal, the size of a small bean of the mercurial ointment, which may be repeated for five nights, and then purged off with another dose of Epsom salts, or salt water; then repeat the mercurial ointment for as long a time, and let it be followed by the purge, as before.

This course may be continued for three weeks; and if, at the end of that time, you find the negro's mouth begins to be sore, the ointment must be discontinued.

He should be kept in the sick-house, and be covered with a flannel jacket, and plenty of warm drinks should be given to him.

When the soreness of the gums and tongue is quite removed, you may complete the cure, and expel out of the habit all remains of the disorder, by a table-spoonful of the following mixture, taken once or twice a day.

Take, of the white corrosive sublimate, sixteen grains; rub them in a glass or marble mortar; and add, by a small

quantity at a time, one quart of new rum, and keep it for use, with a label, entitled, The mercurial solution.

If there be a swelling in the groin, called a bubo, you must endeavour to disperse it with mercurial ointment rubbed upon it, to the quantity of a drachm every day, and covered with cassava poultices.

A purge of Epsom salts should be given every fourth or fifth day, to prevent the mercury from affecting the mouth.

If, notwithstanding these efforts to disperse it, the bubo should increase, and tend to matter, it will be proper to discontinue the ointment and purges, and to use only the poultice, to soften the swelling, and to ripen it, when it may break of itself; and, if the opening be not sufficiently large, it will require the knife of a surgeon to enlarge it. This you should never attempt yourself, as you cannot be sufficiently skilful to operate in the neighbourhood of blood-vessels of importance, which, if divided, might endanger the life of the patient.

After the bubo is opened, the sore should be dressed every day with an ointment, made of red

precipitate and yellow basillicon, spread upon lint, and covered with a pledget of tow.

During the whole course of the cure, the negro should abstain from salted meat; a privation, which you can no otherwise prevail on him to suffer, than by locking him up, and debarring him from all communication with the other negroes.

His food should consist of boiled corn, pap, rice, biscuit, yams, tannies, plantains, and the like, with fresh meat from your table. Sometimes a little wine may be allowed in his panada.

His drink should be water, or rice gruel, or barley water, sweetened to his palate with sugar.

Should the negro be surprised with a salivation, either from having used too much mercury, or from a cold, contracted by neglect, care should be taken to remove him into a warmer room, where he is less exposed to accidents; and he must make a more plentiful use of diluent drinks, to promote the spitting, and to support him under the evacuation.

The pox, which is the most severe degree of the venereal disorder, is cured by a longer course of the mercurial medicines, though it is seldom that cases will occur to require a rougher treatment.

The Yaws.

The yaws are a disorder which bear some affinity to the venereal disease above described, in its worst degree, though essentially different in many of its phenomena, and admitting of a very different method of cure.

They appear sometimes on the face, or on the body, first in small pimples, which enlarge, expand, and break into fungous sores, pushing forth from the skin with a yellow crust, and yielding little or no matter.

They appear also about the genitals of men, and the fundament and private parts of women, in spots of different sizes projecting from the skin, and covered with the same yellow or whitish crust.

They attack at all ages, but chiefly in infancy, where they commit the greatest havoc, the tender bones and articulations of infants, being the most sensible of impressions from the virulent humour of this disease, which sometimes distort their joints and limbs, and not unfrequently deprives them of life.

Like the venereal disease also, it is received by contact, though not with the same facility. Whether it ever arises spontaneously, is more than I am prepared to say. There is but too much reason to think, that it is sometimes procured to the children by an act of the mother, in order to obtain a long exemption from labour, whilst they are under treatment, during which, her presence cannot be dispensed with.

Children, as I said before, are often killed by it; sometimes adults. Most negroes are attacked once, and none more than once.

It is one of the greatest evils to which negroes are subject; for, though they generally recover in the end, it is after a long confinement, and often still bearing about them some vestiges of the disease; for, if it has been ill-treated, by being injudiciously suppressed, or by the premature use of mercury, it leaves behind it the worst effects; frequent relapses, infinitely more difficult to cure than the disorder at its first appearance, pains in the joints, tettery sores on the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, which superadd a vexatious itching to the pain of labouring.

This being the character of the disorder, and as it usually requires the loss of many months of the

negro's service, before his cure can be perfected, it seems necessary to prevent it from being extended among your gang, by every possible precaution, and the most obvious one is, that of keeping the infected negroes apart from the others.

The moment you perceive such marks of the disease upon any of them, as leave no doubt of the nature of the disorder, let the negro be confined to the yaws house.

This house should be situated in some remote corner, not distant from, but out of sight of the dwelling house.

It should consist of two larger apartments, one for the male negroes, one for the females, and a smaller one for such as are designed to be salivated; and, as their confinement will probably be for a long time, it will be proper to surround the building, to the distance of ten yards from every side of it, with a close-boarded paling, about seven feet high, to prevent them from escaping, and yet to allow them the benefit of air and exercise in the enclosed area.

On the outside of this paling, and close to the entrance door, should be another house for the nurse, or nurses, who are to attend them. These houses may, like the other negro-houses, be of

thatch; but those within the area, designed for the disordered negroes, should be either of boards, or stone in preference, with shingled roofs, as a better defence against fire, or the variations of the weather. A sand box tree may be planted in the yard, to protect the negroes from the sun, if they chuse to resort to it.

Hither all your yawed negroes should be brought, without exception. If sucking infants, the mothers should attend, and be locked up with them, as they would inevitably be lost otherwise. The confinement should be so strict, as to exclude all possibility of contact with the other negroes, though the prisoners may, occasionally, be indulged with a walk out of their bounds, under the escort of their nurses, who should never lose sight of them, but should conduct them back again to the yaws-house, and lock them in it at night.

The first thing to be done towards their cure is merely alimentary. They should be well supplied with provisions of every kind, except salt meat and salt fish, until the yaws have attained a certain size, when they are full, round, and fleshy; and nothing contributes more to advance them to that state, than plentiful nourishment. Their own pepper concur-

ring with the general intention, need not be refused them.

When the yaws have attained the maturity desired, and not before, medical means may be resorted to, to expedite their cure. Perhaps nature alone might effect it; but she is rather too tardy in her process for the impatience of the Planter, whose interest suffers by the delay.

The remedies employed for their cure are of three kinds: sulphur, calcined shells, and mercury.

Brimstone is a pretty safe and certain, though a slow cure. It should be given every morning, either in the common powdered roll, or the flowers, to the quantity of a table spoonful, when mixed with molasses into an electuary. If the bowels of the patient would bear it, the same dose may be repeated in the evening; but, in general, it will be found that one spoonful will be as much as they can bear in the beginning; though, after having been for some time habituated to it, they may then repeat the dose in the evening. It is probable, indeed, that this medicine produces its effect by purging the belly rather than by any peculiar alterative quality, as the same intention has been frequently obtained by the juice of vervain, taken in such quantities as to

occasion two or three stools a day. Perhaps many other purgatives might answer a similar purpose; but I never made trial of them, being too anxious to get my negroes well to venture upon experiments, though one might well be made of the Harrowgate water, which has been found so powerful in removing other cuticular complaints.

Calcareous powders, such as the shell of the conc calcined, and given to the quantity of a drachm or two in a day, has been frequently employed by the negro-doctors, for the cure of the yaws, and, as I have understood, with great effect, even in cases that had baffled the art of the regular practitioner.

The third cure for the yaws is by mercurials. Mercury, exhibited in any form, after the yaws are completely out, and have attained their full growth, will frequently remove them. It may be given in the shape of calomel, to the amount of a grain and a half, made into a small pill with soap, and taken every night. If it affects the mouth, and threatens a spitting, a quarter of a pint of vervain juice should be taken for three or four mornings, to divert it to the bowels.

A mercurial solution, prepared as in the pre-

ceding chapter, of corrosive sublimate and rum, and given to the quantity of a table-spoonful every night, will frequently cure the yaws as well as the venereal disease.

The yaws are cured by these different ways of administering the mercury; but it requires time, and, after all, the business is neither so summarily, nor so completely done, as by the external application of mercury to excite a salivation.

When you attempt the disorder in that way, it is necessary that you should devote a good deal of attention to it yourself, as you cannot safely trust the conduct of the process to your negro-nurse.

It should be performed in the apartment assigned to that purpose, from which the air should not be entirely excluded, though it should be admitted only at the top of the side walls, where a ventilator also ought to be placed for the discharge of that which has been corrupted by respiration, and the exhalation from the body.

The patient must be provided with a pair of flannel pantaloons reaching to the heels, and with a flannel waistcoat, coming high on the neck, and descending below the hips.

Thus prepared, and with the disease at its full maturity, you may proceed.

Let the patient rub in a drachm and a half of the mercurial ointment on his legs, from the ancles to the calves. At the expiration of three days, let him repeat the same quantity of ointment, and rub it in from the calves of the legs to the knees. At the end of another three days, let him rub in the same quantity of ointment from the knees to the buttocks. After the same intervals, and in the same way, let him successively anoint the buttocks, then the hips and genitals, then the back, then the shoulders, then the arms, so that, by these several rubbings, whereby about two ounces and a half of the mercurial ointment having been expended upon the body, and carefully rubbed into it, a gentle salivation may be expected, and kept up, to the quantity of about a pint and a half, or a quart a day, for the space of three or four weeks, at the end of which time the patient will be freed from every appearance of the yaws, and the salivation may be allowed to go off of itself.

If at any time the spitting should be too great, it may be moderated by discontinuing the rubbings

for a few days, and giving a table-spoonful of castor oil.

If too small, that is less than a pint and a half in the twenty-four hours, the quantity of ointment may be increased to two drachms at the two following rubbings.

If, during this course, the patient should be purged too much, give him five-and-twenty grains of the powder of rhubarb, and afterwards a few doses, of half a drachm, or two scruples of bole armenic powder.

Should the purging still continue, give five-and-twenty grains of the powder of ipecacuanha, to excite a puking; and let it be followed at night with a dose of five-and-twenty drops of laudanum, given in some water gruel, with a little red-port wine.

If the negro be too costive, give him frequent clysters of water-gruel, sugar, salt, and oil, as described in many preceding parts of this work, or occasional doses of castor oil may be employed, for the purpose of keeping his body open.

Care should be taken, that the different rubbings be performed with the patient's own hands, so as that the whole quantity of ointment is absorbed into

the body, and that the flannel waistcoat and pantaloons be worn from the beginning to the end of the course, with the anointed side of it to the body.

The patient must be kept moderately warm, but not too hot.

His nourishment should be broths without fat, panada, rice, sago, arrow root, and, occasionally, eggs.

Should he appear low and weak at any time, he may be indulged with a little wine, of any sort.

His drink may consist of barley water, or water gruel, to be taken to the quantity of at least two or three quarts a day.

After the spitting has ceased, the mouth should be washed several times a day, with some warm water and sugar, in which a small quantity of alum has been dissolved.

His flannels may be removed, and a pair of Osnaburgh trowsers, and woollen waistcoat, be substituted to them. He may sit with the doors of the apartments open, and accustom himself by degrees to the enjoyment of the air, when the weather is fine.

By a salivation such as this, both the yaws and the worst sorts of venereal disease may be radically cured, provided it be in an island where the atmos-

phere is dry; but, in one where it is charged with moisture, and where the rains are prevalent for several months successively, it is infinitely more difficult to cure the disorder by any process whatever; for, though they may disappear with the dry season, they frequently manifest themselves in the rainy months, when they are called by the negroes, rattoon yaws.

In cases such as this, it would by no means be advisable to repeat the salivation, but you must trust to time, sulphur, and verdegrease, applied externally, for eradicating the remnant of the disease; and, after all, not a few are the cases where the negroes are worse all the residue of their lives, for having had the disorder.

The cure of infants never should be attempted by so harsh a process; though, when the yaws are ripe for a remedy, one may generally be found in the powder of Æthiop's mineral, which is a composition of quicksilver and sulphur, given twice a day, for a considerable length of time.

After the yaws have totally disappeared from the rest of the body, some symptoms will still remain on the soles of the feet, being such of them as could not burst through the callous of that part:

these are generally known by the name of Tubbos; but, before I proceed to treat on their cure, it ought not to escape me to remark, that, in order to stimulate the negro-nurse, upon whom so much depends, to the punctual discharge of her duty, which, in those cases, is particularly unpleasant, she should receive a reward of two or three dollars for every negro dismissed cured out of the yaws-house, not payable immediately, but after an interval long enough to ascertain that the disorder is completely subdued.

The Tubbos.

When you observe your negroes to limp, and to walk with difficulty, and under great apparent uneasiness, you must examine the soles of their feet, to see from what cause their lameness arises: whether from sores or chigoes, or from certain fleshy excrescencies, shooting out beyond the surface of the skin. These excrescencies are called tubbos, and are the troublesome remains of the yaws; for they impede the negroes so much in their motions, as almost to disable them for labour. They must be destroyed.

Various means are employed for that purpose, most of which, either by the mildness of their action, or by not being applied with judgment, and persevered in for a sufficient length of time, afford only a temporary relief, the tubbo returning, and with it the lameness.

The ordinary remedies of the sick-nurses are, the powders of verdegrease, and Roman vitriol, which being sprinkled on the surface of the tubbo, induces a certain degree of hardness of the part, which per-

mits them for a time to walk with tolerable ease, until, being softened by moisture, the scab drops off, when the tubbo regenerating, the part recovers its sensibility, and requires to be removed by the former, or some other more effectual application.

Others make use of arsenick, or corrosive sublimate, which goes much deeper, but seldom reaches to the bottom of the evil, unless applied with judgment and precaution. The best way of treating the tubbo, with either of these substances, is as follows:

Bathe the foot in warm water for an hour or two; then let it be wiped dry, and with a sharp knife pare off the callous edge and loose skin that surrounds the tubbo, almost to the sensible flesh, then, with one quick stroke of the knife, cut off the tubbo as deep as you can well take it, without injuring the contiguous parts. Put a little lint on the wound, and let it remain until the bleeding has ceased. When that has disappeared, take a wet sponge, remove the coagulated blood, and sprinkle, out of a quill, a little of the powder of corrosive sublimate over the surface of the tubbo; then press some lint on the sublimate, and cover the whole with an adhesive plaster, spread on cloth or leather, and put a bandage to keep every thing in its place. By this means,

the lint presses the sublimate into the substance of the tubbo. In a day or two, the effect of the sublimate being exhausted, it becomes necessary to renew it as before, first taking care to remove, with a knife, the part of the tubbo which had been destroyed by the preceding dressing. By this second application, the tubbo will probably separate from the sound flesh, and may be extracted from it entire without violence. Should it not, the same dressing must be repeated, until that effect ensues. When the substance of the tubbo has been thus removed, you may fill up the cavity with basilicon and precipitate, spread upon lint, and repeat the same dressing every day, until new flesh has been produced, and the part is entirely healed.

It will be understood, of course, that during this process for eradicating the tubbo, the negro must be excused from labour, as well to prevent the dressings from being torn from the wound, as to indulge him in the intervals of a very painful operation.

The cure of the tubbo may also be expeditiously effected, by the application of a drop of the caustic acid of vitriol, or of aqua fortis, to the part when pared, as before described, and covered with lint and sticking-plaster, removing every day, with the point of a knife, the slough which had been destroyed

the day before, and repeating the drop of the caustic until the whole tubbo is dissolved, which it speedily will be. However, as greater hazards may attend the action of these acids, when applied near a tendinous part, the former process is the best, at least for those who are not of the profession.

The Itch

Is well known to be an indigenous production of the north, and to contribute not a little to the recreation of the natives, when excluded, by the rigours of winter, from participating in those delights, which nature has indulged to the inhabitants of more favoured skies.

Yet it is not exclusively appropriated to those regions, as it sometimes makes its appearance even within the tropics; but as, from a want of a full experience of its benefits, it is there regarded as an evil, from which men are desirous to be released, it shall, in conformity to their prejudices, be so considered here.

It is to be cured with a certainty by sulphur, which is by far the best remedy for negroes.

Take any quantity of the flowers of sulphur, or of the powder of solid brimstone, and make it into an ointment with hogs-lard. If there be none of that on the estate, lamp oil will answer the purpose.

Let the body be anointed all over with it every day, for eight or ten times in the sun, or before the fire, where the ointment must be well rubbed in, and the same clothing should be worn, without being washed, until the cure is completed.

I make no mention of the mercurial solution preferred by the delicate, who are obliged to appear in society, and do not wish to carry about them an atmosphere of brimstone; for, though that may cure also, it is with less certainty, and not without some danger.

But there is another kind of itch, not of northern, but of African origin, of a less tractable nature than the former, and which no habit can embrace as a luxury.

It appears in large pustules, somewhat resembling the small pox, yielding a yellowish matter, and forming small superficial ulcers over a great part of the body.

This also yields ultimately to the sulphur ointment; but it is after more numerous rubbings, assisted by the internal use of the flowers of sulphur, taken, as for the yaws, with syrup or molasses.

Sometimes the pustules having totally disappeared, return again, after an interval of two or three weeks, and require a repetition of the same process. In these cases, as the brimstone internally has not been found to advance the cure, a grain of calomel, with soap, should be given every night instead of it; or a table-spoonful of the mercurial solution, as before recommended for the venereal disease and the yaws. The ointment should be repeated, not only until the disorder has disappeared, but for twelve or fourteen days after.

During the continuance of the itch, the negro should be admonished not to eat any salted fish, or meat; though you can hardly expect that he will submit rigorously to such a privation while at large, and at liberty to indulge his appetite.

Ringworms.

Somewhat analogous to the itch, but much more vexatious and obstinate of cure, are the ringworms, sometimes itching excessively, and emitting a virulent corrosive matter.

This complaint requires a long course of internal medicines, and external applications, and sometimes resist both for many years, yielding only to time, after art, in despair, has relinquished her efforts.

In such cases, give a pill of one grain of calomel, with soap, every night. Give also a half-pint of the decoction of lignum-vitæ every morning and evening. If this medicine does not keep the bowels sufficiently open, a purge should be given every week of salt water, or of Epsom purging salts, to the quantity of ten drachms.

All this time the part affected by the ringworms should be anointed with some of the brimstone ointment, and a rag, anointed with the same, should be kept on it if possible.

Sometimes a very strong mixture of the extract

of lead, with water, is found to be of great use, or an ointment made of the extract of lead and hogs-lard.

The Shingles.

Negroes are often attacked with eruptions about the sides and waist, either in small, or pretty considerable bladders, attended with a sharp burning pain and fever. They are called shingles. I never knew them to be followed by fatal effects, though, where the bladders have burst, superficial sores have succeeded, which did not dry up for several weeks.

It will be proper in this case, if the pain and fever be considerable, to give thirty or forty drops of the essence of antimony every four hours, in a little barley or common water, sweetened with sugar; and the patient should drink plentifully, to promote its operation by the skin.

The body should be kept open by clysters of water, with a spoonful of salt and oil, given twice

a day; or, if they are found ineffectual for the purpose, by a dose of Epsom salts.

When the blisters break, they should be dressed for a few days with yellow basillicon, spread on a rag, and afterwards be washed with the vegeto-mineral water, and dressed with Turner's cerate.

If they discharge much matter, the sore may be covered with the powder of chalk.

Ruptures.

In warm climates, the inhabitants are particularly subject to ruptures, from the great relaxation of the parts, and negroes more so than any other class of people, from their exertions in lifting great weights, and in carrying heavy burdens.

A rupture consists in a descent of a portion of the gut out of its ordinary place in the belly; and sometimes, when recent, and attended with much pain, is of a nature to demand the immediate assistance of the surgeon, either to return it to its proper place, by laying the patient on his back, and gently

pressing the gut, in a manner not to be taught by words, and known only to the experienced hand; or by an operation the most delicate within the whole range of the art. Instances, however, where such an operation is required in the West Indies are very rare, from the great laxity of the parts, the gut easily descending, and as easily returning into the belly, where it should be retained by a truss adapted to that purpose; some of which, of different sizes, should always be kept on the estate.

In ordinary cases, where the negro has been subject to such descents of the gut, you may replace it yourself, by laying him on his back, with his head and shoulders much lower than his posteriors; in which position, the weight of the bowels assisting your endeavours, in all probability the gut will return from whence it came, by a gentle pressure of your fingers; but, should it resist after several efforts, and the patient complain of much pain, you must desist from the attempt, and send immediately for a surgeon, who, if the case be such a serious one as was first mentioned, ought to be the most expert that the island affords.

It is hardly possible to get a negro long to

retain his truss, so as to keep the gut in its proper place. If it has once made a descent, it continues to do so, and the negro to suffer the inconvenience for many years, without being disabled from performing any of the functions of slavery; but, as age advances, the evil increases, and he becomes less and less capable of service, until he is at last unfitted for labour, and must be indulged for the residue of his days with some sedentary employment, which requires but trifling efforts.

The falling down of the Womb.

This is a very distressing complaint to the female sex, and, unfortunately, it happens to them but too frequently, in a greater or less degree, sometimes incommoding them but little, at others, the womb descends beyond the external passage, and in a manner that not only precludes labour, but scarcely admits of motion.

Such extreme cases arise generally from violence, sustained by the parts during labour, or from preternatural relaxation, which renders them incapable of preserving their due position.

In the West Indies, even in the mildest cases, it seldom admits of a perfect cure; and, in the worst, the womb can only be kept in its place by the mechanical support of an instrument, called a pessary, of which there are various kinds; but that which is most applicable to the condition of negroes is, the ring pessary, which is easily introduced, and as easily removed. They are made either of cork, wood, or sponge; of which cork is the best. They are bought in the shops covered with varnish, which prevents the humours from penetrating into the substance of the pessary. It must be taken out every now and then to cleanse the part, and the instrument.

In cases less violent, some benefit may be obtained by an injection of the following mixture two or three times a day.

Take, of the bark of the cashew-tree, three ounces;
of alum, two drachms;
of water, two quarts, boil to a quart, and keep it for use, with the addition of two ounces of rum.

If at any time the womb, by being exposed to the external air, or by violence, has suffered an injury, and is inflamed, it should be fomented with warm water, before it is reduced, and, when reduced, it must be kept in its place by a cloth bandage, until the inflammation has subsided, before the pessary is applied.

Ulcers.

As much of the service of negroes is lost to the plantation by their sores, as by all their other complaints put together; and this is unavoidable, from the exposed state of their extremities. A negro moves with his naked feet, at all hours of the day or night, with as careless a step as if he were under the protection of shoes; no wonder, therefore, if they should suffer from accidents. Sometimes the toe encounters a stone, which deprives it of a nail in an instant; sometimes a piece of glass cuts deep into the foot, or a thorn penetrates to the bone.

These are casualties that must necessarily be numerous; but, independent of them, ulcers frequently break out spontaneously, from some vice in the humours of the body. From whichever of these causes the sore arises, a prudent manager will take care that it be not exasperated by mismanagement, of which a long confinement, if not something worse, may be the consequence.

When a negro presents at the sick-house with a fresh wound on the foot, it may be dressed with lint, and a pledget of tow, and the dressing should be secured with a bandage, the object being only to exclude the air, as the cure may be expected from nature, and he may in the mean time return to the field again.

Should the wound be on one of the toes, though a man may regret the loss of a negro's service for several days, it is better to suffer that, than a much longer confinement when the sore gets worse, as it will do by neglect, and by standing upon the limb.

You need not remove the dressings from a green wound for four days after they have been first applied. If there appears any considerable degree of inflammation, you will order the part to be bathed

with warm water; and, after applying a pledget of basillicon, spread upon lint, upon the sore, you will cover that with a bread and milk poultice. The same dressings may be repeated the day after, if the inflammation remains, otherwise they may be discontinued, and the cure will be effected by nature and the lint alone.

Fresh wounds, if the habit be in a good state, heal in a very short time in warm climates, though apparently very formidable at first. It is only necessary that the limb be rested. If the negro persists in his attempts to use it, he must be threatened with the stocks, and even be confined in them, if threats do not engage his submission to order; for nothing is more necessary, in all complaints of the lower extremities, where the humours are disposed to stagnate, than that the limb be kept in an horizontal position, to facilitate their ascent and due circulation. Of this maxim, you are never to lose sight in the treatment of wounds.

If, instead of a fresh wound, it be a sore of some standing, that brings your negro to the sick-house, you must let him remain there, and order it to be dressed with yellow basillicon and red precipitate, spread upon lint. This, if repeated daily,

will probably effect a cure, if the habit of body be good, and the sore has assumed a bad appearance merely from neglect, which is often the case; but, if the habit be in a bad state, even the smallest scratch rankles and festers, and becomes a formidable ulcer, in the treatment of which, you must have a regard, not only to the state of the part, but to that of the body in general.

It must here be observed, that the dressings employed in European surgery, have much less effect in curing the ulcers of negroes in the West Indies, than they produce on those in a more northern climate. Basillicon and precipitate, though powerful enough to excite the action of the vessels, in the latter place, to the discharge of white matter, which accompanies the generation of new flesh, and of course disposes the sores to heal, is found, for the most part, insufficient for the purpose in the West Indies, where the vessels of negroes circulate a thinner blood, which emits only a thin indigested matter, of a corrosive quality, that enlarges the ulcer very rapidly. Here the art of the surgeon deserts him; and, in order to proceed with effect, he must have recourse to those whom experience has instructed in the use of the simples of the country. It is surprising what alteration is made in the ap-

pearance of a bad ulcer, by the application of a poultice of the raw cassava-root grated. From a thin corrosive fluid, it is made to yield a mild white matter. In worse cases, where the cassava alone is tardy in producing that effect, it may be quickened with the juice of a lime, which greatly assists the suppuration. There is reason to think, that this effect is produced by the greater stimulus of such substances, nature requiring to be excited. In case the ointments of the shops be continued, their activity must be sharpened by a triple proportion of the stimulating ingredient, whether the red precipitate, or the rust of copper, called verdegrease; nay, both those substances, as well as the fresh filings of copper, are frequently used alone for the cleansing of ulcers, and with the best effect. In short, it appears that somewhat of an inflammation must be excited, to obtain a cure of the ill-conditioned ulcers of negroes; and, by a continuance of these external means only, many very bad ones, and of long standing, have been cured; but where internal medicines are required to alter the habit, you may give a mercurial pill of one grain of calomel, with soap, every night.

There is a kind of ulcer which makes its first appearance without any external injury on the foot,

with a bluish blister or bladder, accompanied with a violent pain, the bladder bursting, the part beneath exhibits a dark appearance, from which you may be assured of having a very obstinate sore to contest with. The adjacent parts inflame, the lips of the wound thicken considerably from day to day, the ulcer yields only a thin offensive dark-coloured matter tinged with blood, which dissects the surrounding parts, and threatens an extension of the gangrene, of which nature this ulcer has been from the beginning.

In cases such as this, you must bathe the part with a fomentation made of wormwood, or of Peruvian bark, twice a day. The sore may be dressed with lint, dipped in a mixture of equal quantities of rum and molasses. Sometimes it may be cleansed with a strong infusion of the Cayenne pepper. If this method does not succeed, try poultices of the cassava root, and pretty strong vegeto-mineral water. Sometimes the ulcer may be touched with the extract of lead, undiluted, with great advantage.

Internally, you should give a drachm of the powder of Peruvian bark every four hours, with ten grains of the powder of snake-root.

If the belly be costive, it must be opened with

clysters, given daily. If clysters are insufficient, you may give a table-spoonful of castor oil.

As there are strong symptoms of putrescence in these cases, the patients must be kept in an apartment well aired, and perfectly clean, where there are none, or very few other negroes; for the crowding of too many of them together, is alone sufficient to make their ulcers assume a putrid appearance.

Negroes, newly imported, have a strong disposition to ulcerate on the slightest injury received to their legs or feet. These ulcers too are of a bad quality, and frequently so obstinate, as not to yield to any dressing or medicine, until the negro becomes accustomed to the climate.

But, if negroes newly imported, even into a dry and healthy island, be subject to ulcerate on slight injuries, they are much more so when removed to islands where, from the abundance of wood, there is a great quantity of rain, or where they are attached to new settlements, and much employed in cutting down trees, and the clearing of land.

In such circumstances, many lives are lost merely by ulcers originating from injuries, no greater perhaps than a chigo, but aggravated by the putrid dis-

position of the humours into the most horrid ulcers, which nothing can resist nor remedy, for they continue their ravages on the limb, eating the flesh away from the bones, one toe dropping after another, until the whole foot, and possibly life itself yields to the disease; nor are these unfortunate cases very rare, though the issue may not be quite so fatal; for, on estates lately settled, it is not unusual to have a third, or a half of the negroes, confined to the house by sores, or working in the fields with bandages about their legs, which indicate that they are fitter for the hospital than for labour; and thither they should be sent on the first appearance of a sore, however inconsiderable. You may thereby lose some days of their labour earlier than you may think necessary; but if you defer it until the necessity becomes irresistible, you will lose ten times more. It is indeed a melancholy prospect to a Planter in the commencement of his settlement, when his means are few, and his wants urgent, to have his progress retarded by the large proportion of negroes who will be disabled in that way; however, should an ill-understood economy lead him to continue them at work, under such circumstances, in expectation that nature will effect their cure, he will see reason to repent of his imprudence. The

sores of new negroes are never to be neglected, however trifling in the beginning. They should rest their legs in the sick-house, and even change the air, if that which they breathe be too moist, as moisture is adverse to all sores. Even where they have been once healed, they are subject to break out again at the setting in of the rainy season.

But, though new negroes suffer most by sores, yet even they who have been in the island, and accustomed to plantation labours, when removed to another island, or to a wetter situation in the same, are attacked in the same way. Their habits undergo a change, and they are subject to the same results that are observable in Africans of recent importation, though in a less degree. They must be seasoned, not so much to the climate as to the plantation, and, when once seasoned, they have the power of resisting, with little injury, great violences, when small ones would formerly have laid them up for a twelvemonth.

There is another kind of ulcer, almost as incurable as the leprosy itself, which attacks negroes, not in the feet only, but in any other part of the body. It is of a scrophulous nature, first appearing like little lumps in the flesh, then inflaming, ul-

cerating, and discharging a thin gleety matter. Sometimes they disappear, then return again, and harrass the patient for many years, to the end of his life, which is generally abridged by them. I have known these sores to be radically cured by the use of salt water externally and internally. Mercury, in any shape, never corresponded to my hopes, but in many cases left the patient worse than it found him.

Burns and Scalds.

Though arising from different causes, have the same effect. They happen but too frequently from the carelessness of negroes, and their necessary exposure to heated bodies.

The best general remedy that can be applied in these cases is, the vegeto mineral water, prepared as follows:

Take, of rain water, one quart;
of the extract of lead, half an ounce mix.

Dip a soft rag in this mixture, and apply it to the part. The rag should have several doubles, that it may longer retain the moisture; and repeated affusions of the same water should succeed, so as to allay the pain, which it will do in a great degree.

If the scald or burn extends over a great surface, the negro should be blooded, to the amount of six or eight ounces, if he be of a constitution robust enough to bear it.

In twelve hours after the accident, by which time the pain generally subsides, you may cover the wound with some of the following ointment:

Take, of olive oil, and of spermaceti, each two ounces, melt them together, and add

of the extract of lead;

of liquid laudanum, each a tea spoonful, mix them well together, and form an ointment:

or,

instead of this ointment, Turner's cerate may be employed with nearly as good an effect.

If there are any blisters, they should be opened with the lancet, previous to the application of the ointment.

Sometimes such grievous accidents of this kind

occur, as leave but little expectation of the patient's recovery; yet, means should not be neglected, though with ever so distant a hope. Plentiful use must be made of the same mixture, so as to keep the negro almost incessantly bathed with it; and, if he complains of being faint, he may be allowed some weak wine and water.

Of Pregnant Women.

If you are anxious to increase the population of your estate by the breeding of your negroes, as every man must now be, both from a better informed sense of his duty, and the extremely increased price of African negroes, you will bestow somewhat more attention to your women during their pregnancy, than they have usually received; for, to the ordinary diseases, to which they are at that time subject, equally as at any other, they have some peculiar to that state, which are superadded.

In the first months of pregnancy, they are attacked with sickness at the stomach, and vomiting. This indisposition is not to be removed, and scarcely to be palliated by medicine, and is commonly endured without complaint; but, where complaint is made, you must make a shew of doing something to satisfy the negro, that you are not indifferent to her relief; and that which medicine cannot effect, the imagination, more powerful, may possibly be able to accomplish. If the negro be extremely sick, so as to be unable to pursue her labours, which very rarely happens, you may give her a julep, as follows:

Drop ten drops of the oil of peppermint upon a lump of white sugar, rub it well in a mortar, then add a pint of water, and three drachms of the compound spirit of lavender; mix, and give three table spoonsful every morning and evening.

Let the negro remain in the sick-house for a day or two; and, if she has no other complaint, you may send her to the field again, telling her what is the truth, that she will be better in motion, but charging her at the same time to return every morning and evening for her julep. By such laudable

frauds, you will find that you effect cures greater than the medicine authorized you to expect.

If, in a more advanced stage of pregnancy, she complains much of pain in her head, with a heaviness of her whole body; and you have reason, from her robust constitution, to imagine that she abounds with blood, you may bleed her to the amount of four ounces. It would be improper to draw a larger quantity, without more urgent motives; for negroes do not prepare so much, nor so good blood as the whites; and therefore they ought not to have it taken from them on slight occasions.

If they are tormented with heartburns, that may be moderated with magnesia. If costive, as they are subject to be, towards the latter months of pregnancy, they may take, occasionally, a spoonful of castor oil.

Sometimes the legs swell very much, though that happens but seldom where the negro is kept in exercise, to maintain a due circulation of the blood, as she ought to be, to the last day of her pregnancy, though not at hard work. But the most serious of the complaints of negroes, during this period, are such as indicate a tendency to

Abortion.

Pregnant women, at any period, and under any circumstances, are subject to miscarry: the affluent most so, from the want of animal vigour, and the indigent, from external violence, their habits of life exposing them to it.

External injuries happen frequently to negroes engaged at their work from strains, blows, or sudden falls to the ground, in descending steep or slippery hills; therefore, they are to be exempted as much as possible, during the whole time of their pregnancy, from all kinds of labour which require extraordinary exertions.

The first symptoms of a threatened miscarriage are, violent pains in the back, loins, and belly, occasionally subsiding, and then returning, after an interval, with increased violence. There is a sensation of weight, and bearing down of the womb, accompanied frequently with a discharge of blood; but, as the same symptoms indicate also the approach of labour, after the term of pregnancy is

expired, you should be well assured that the woman is not arrived at that period, before you venture upon any means that may impede the operation of nature.

That may pretty well be known from the size of the belly, and from the examination of the midwife, if she be at all expert at her business.

If you have reason to think that the time is no elapsed, and that it is a miscarriage which is threatened, you will order the woman to the private apartment of the sick-house, there to lie down on a soft bonano bed, and to keep herself as motionless as possible.

If the symptoms have proceeded from external hurt, or the patient be of a strong habit, six or eight ounces of blood should be immediately drawn from the arm, and she should take twenty-five drops of laudanum, which may be repeated every eight or twelve hours, as the increase or continuance of the symptoms require it.

All wine and other spirituous liquors should be strictly prohibited; and the nourishment may be pap, gruel, panada, broths, sago, and milk, or any other diet which nourishes with the least stimulous to the body.

Let the patient continue under this regimen for five or six days after the above symptoms have disappeared.

If they arose from weakness, or relaxation of the part, which may be known from the woman's preceding habit, particularly if she has been accustomed to miscarry, you ought to abstain from bleeding, and to make a more moderate use of the laudanum. Some red-port wine may be added to the sago, or panada. In all these cases, rest, the most absolute, free from noise or disturbance of any kind, is essential to avert the threatened consequence; and yet but too frequently even that will not do. If, therefore, notwithstanding these means, an abortion takes place, all that remains for you to do is, to keep the patient quiet, and to let her be supplied with mild nourishment. Two or three weeks ought to elapse before she returns to her usual labour, and some bark should be given to strengthen her.

Of Negroes in Child bed.

Women are subject to disorders, for some days after their labours, from the violence which the body suffers by its efforts at that time, and from the change suddenly induced by the removal of the pressure of the child. Negroes, perhaps, are less so than other people, from the warmth of the climate, though they experience less care, and are accommodated with fewer conveniences; however, they require much more attention in that state than they usually experience.

As soon as a negro is delivered, she should be carefully covered, to protect her from the cold, though not too warmly; for an excess in that way is almost as bad as in the other. Some blankets should always be assigned to that service. You may order her some gruel, with a glass or two of wine in it. During the first three or four days, she should be kept on a slender regimen of panada, pap, rice, or broth, with plenty of warm diluent drinks, to replenish the vessels, and to enable her

to furnish a sufficient quantity of milk for the support of the infant.

While the breasts are at work in preparing the milk, it is usual for women to be attacked with a small fever about the third day; the pulse is frequent, and the skin hot. If these symptoms are moderate, they need not alarm you, as you know the cause of them, and they subside of themselves, as soon as the milk flows freely. If more severe, thirty or forty drops of the essence of antimony may be given every four hours.

Give also a common clyster of warm water, with a spoonful of oil, and a spoonful of salt, once every day, to keep the body open.

The sharp pains in the belly soon after labour are still less alarming than the milk fever. If very troublesome, so as to prevent sleep, they may be alleviated with twenty drops of laudanum, given in the evening.

There is another kind of fever, of a much worse kind than the former. This may be distinguished by a dry and parched tongue, greater fever, with pains in the belly, which is very tight and hard, but is more particularly known from its coming earlier, and continuing longer than the milk fever.

and being accompanied with a suppression of the usual discharges after labour.

This fever is of a highly dangerous kind, and requires the utmost exertions of science. You must, therefore, call in some one more able than yourself; but, in the mean-time, you may give the following bolus every four hours.

Take four grains of James's powder;
liquid laudanum, eight drops, make it into a bolus with guava jelly.

If these bolusses do not excite a gentle perspiration, which is essential in these cases, you may add four grains of camphire to each of them, and let the patient take frequently a small quantity of warm barley water.

If the fever runs very high, and the strength of the patient will admit of it, it may be proper to draw six or eight ounces of blood from the arm, and to foment the belly every six hours with warm water, taking care that she be well defended from the cold air during the fomentation.

If the nipples be sore, let them be washed with a very slight infusion of the guava bark, with a third of the quantity of rum, every time after the child has drawn the breast. The best way to do this is, to put the mixture into a wide-mouthed

phial, and to invert it upon the nipple, so that that alone comes in contact with the mixture. A momentary application, frequently repeated, will be useful in hardening the nipples. If they are very sore, they may be anointed with the *following* cerate.

Take, of spermaceti, and of olive oil, equal parts, melt them together.

This cerate should be well wiped from the nipples every time that the child is put to them.

If the breasts are inflamed, and knotty, and hard, they may be fomented several times a day with a decoction of bran, and *rubbed gently with* a hand moistened with oil. They may also be covered with poultices of cassava bread and milk, with a little oil; and a purge of castor oil should be given, to make a revulsion downwards.

If, notwithstanding these means, the breasts form abscesses, they must be poulticed, and, when ripe, the aid of the surgeon will be absolutely necessary to open them.

You should charge the midwife and nurses to keep the apartments of lying-in women as free from noise and intrusion as possible.

On New-born Infants.

The first thing that ought to be done to infants, after they come into the world, is, to plunge them over head and ears into a tub of cold water, with the side downwards, and, when withdrawn from the tub, let their limbs be examined, to see if they have suffered any injury during the labour, that it may be redressed if they have.

When dressed, and the mother has been properly taken care of, let the child be put to the breast; for, as in all the rest of the animal world, there is scarcely any interval between existence and appetite, so in infants we find an early propensity to seek their support at the breast of the mother; and to withhold them from it, is contrary to the indications of nature, and injurious both to the mother and the child. To the mother, as it occasions a stagnation of the humours in the breast, which ought to be early solicited to a discharge; and to the child, in depriving it of that aliment which is peculiarly adapted to its organs, and to purge away the matter

that has been accumulated in its stomach and bowels during gestation. Indeed, so necessary is it to carry off that humour, that something, still more purgative than the milk, is generally called in to its aid. Castor oil is used for that purpose in the West Indies; and a better cannot be desired any where. Give a tea-spoonful of it in a few hours after the birth, and repeat it as you find the child's belly more or less open.

Where the cold-bathing has been neglected, infants are sometimes attacked, within nine or ten days after their birth, with the locked-jaw, or jaw-fall. I never knew it to prove otherwise than fatal; therefore every means should be used to prevent its appearance; and those means will be found chiefly in the cold-bathing above-mentioned, repeated daily, and in keeping their bellies open.

Of the Thrush.

Children are generally attacked within the mouth with small white spots on the lips and tongue, called the thrush. It does not very often kill them, unless they have it to a very violent degree, and it is suffered to grow worse by neglect. Nothing is better for this complaint than the following mixture, given to the quantity of a tea-spoonful, every three hours, shaking the phial at the time of use.

Take, of magnesia, two drachms;
rhubarb powder, ten grains;
water, three ounces mix.

The tongue and lips should be rubbed now and then with some honey, to which, if necessary, a very small quantity of alum may be added.

Colics.

Infants are subject to pains in the bowels and stomach from wind, and also to other pains, arising from an acid, which have similar effects, in occasioning the child to cry, and to draw up its legs in apparent agony. Under such circumstances, give a tea-spoonful of the following mixture, every two or three hours:

Magnesia, one drachm;

Oil of aniseed, two drops; rub the oil with a lump of white sugar in a mortar, and add one ounce of water.

If the child be costive, give a tea-spoonful of castor oil.

If the pain be not removed by these means, give a clyster of water gruel, with aniseeds boiled in it.

Purgings.

The bellies of infants should be kept open: three or four stools daily are not too many; but sometimes they have as many dozen, and then the affair becomes serious; for, unless checked, they are soon hurried out of the world by them.

Let a tea-spoonful of the following mixture be given every three hours:

Take, of the powder of crabs' claws, two drachms;
of the powder of rhubarb, eight grains;
of the essence of antimony, ten drops;
of water, two ounces mix.

The intention of this medicine being to cause a little puking, if it does not effect that, two or three drops more of the antimony may be added to the mixture.

Should the purging still continue, you may add five grains of the powder of cinnamon to it.

Teething.

The cutting of teeth is a painful operation of nature, and not unaccompanied with danger, as it causes numerous complaints; the most common of which are, purgings, fevers, and convulsions.

Purgings are rather favourable symptoms, and are to be stopped only when excessive, by the means directed in the last chapter.

Slight fevers also require no medicine; but, if violent, you may give a tea-spoonful of the following mixture every three hours.

Magnesia, one drachm;
Essence of antimony, eight drops;
Water, one ounce mix.

A clyster of water gruel may be injected several times in the four-and-twenty hours.

It may not be unnecessary to admonish the reader, that if the child should be puked too much, the dose of the mixture must be diminished; if it neither pukes nor sweats, it should be increased.

Convulsions are the most dangerous of the complaints of infants, whether arising from their teething,

or from other causes, and are not easily removed by medicines; however, whenever they appear, give a clyster of thin water-gruel several times a day.

Add to the magnesia and antimonial mixture above-mentioned, six drops of the tincture of assa-fœtida, and give a tea-spoonful of it every three hours.

If the convulsions continue, you may put the child into a warm bath, and apply a blister between the shoulders.

The most effectual way of removing the above complaints, arising from dentition, would be, by assisting the efforts of nature, and cutting the gum down to the tooth. A sheathed lancet is contrived for that purpose, which may be introduced into the mouth without danger; but, unfortunately, it is not always that the seat of the pain is sufficiently manifest to authorize its application.

If you perceive the gum to be very much swollen, hot, and inflamed, and upon putting the finger to it you feel the tooth underneath, then you may apply the lancet, and divide the gum with the best effect, as the untoward symptoms will often disappear immediately; but the premature and indiscriminate use

of the lancet, without a well-ascertained object, is absurd, and rather hurtful than otherwise.

Food.

The most natural food of infants is that which is yielded by the breast of the mother; and, if she be duly nourished, *it is seldom they will want any* other. But, as the child is often clamorous while the mother is at her work in the field, you may order a little water-gruel, or flour-pap to be prepared every day for the use of the nursery; but the best substitute to milk is the powder of the Indian arrow-root, made into a thin pap with water.

APPENDIX.

IN order to be able to prepare medicines, it is necessary to obtain an acquaintance with the weights and measures employed by the apothecaries for that purpose, as well as with the characters by which they are designed.

One pound	contains	Twelve ounces
One ounce		Eight drachms
One drachm		Three scruples
One scruple		Twenty grains

The weights contained in the small box of apothecaries' scales are the

			Grains.
Two drachms	marked ℥ij.	equal to	120
One drachm	marked ℥j.	equal to	60
Two scruples	marked ℈ij.	equal to	40
Half drachm	marked ℥ſs.	equal to	30
Scruple	marked ℈j.	equal to	20
Half scruple	marked ℈ſs.	equal to	10

The grains are stamped from one to six.

The measures are,

A pint	containing	Sixteen ounces
An ounce		Eight drachms
A table spoon		Four drachms
A tea spoon		One drachm or 60 drops

* A drop is supposed equal to one grain.

Compositions to be kept always prepared.

Steel electuary—dose from one to two drachms.

Take, of iron filings, one pound; powder of ginger, one ounce; molasses, sufficient to make an electuary.

Bitters—dose a wine-glassful.

Take, of the shavings of bitter ash, eight ounces; the roots of bruised ginger and semper vivum bruised, each four ounces; rum, one gallon; water, four gallons; mix and keep for use.

Essence of antimony—dose thirty to sixty drops.

Take, of the glass of antimony finely powdered, one ounce; of Madeira wine, a pint and half, mix and shake daily for twelve days; when settled, filter it through blotting paper. The same antimony will serve repeatedly, if new wine be added.

Powder for Dysenteries—dose from three to five grains.

Take, of powder of ipecacuanha, four ounces; of emetic tartar, four drachms; mix well.

Emetic mixture—dose two to four tea-spoonsful.

Take, of emetic tartar, half an ounce; water, one quart, mix and dissolve.

Vegeto-mineral water.

Take, of Goulard's extract of lead, one table-spoonful; of pure rain water, one quart mix.

List of Drugs.

	lb.	oz.
Æthiop's mineral	4	0
Aloes hepatic	2	0
Common alum	1	0
Volatile sal ammoniac	0	4
Glass of antimony	0	2
Mercurial ointment	4	0
Armenian bole	0	8
Calomel	2	0
Camphire	1	0
Powder of crabs'-claws	1	0
Spanish flies	1	0
Spirit of hartshorn	0	3
Powd. of Peruvian bark	8	0
Cream of tartar	2	0
Flowers of sulphur	15	0
Gum gamboge	0	3
Gum guaicum	1	0
Powder of jalep	0	8
Powder of ipecacuanha	1	0
Powder of rhubarb	1	8
Manna	1	0
Salt of nitre	3	0
Oil of almonds	4	0
Oil of peppermint	0	1
Oil of aniseed	0	2
Liquid Laudanum	4	0

	lb.	oz.
Roman vitriol	1	0
Verdegrease	3	0
Extract of lead	5	0
Emetic tartar	0	8
Opium	0	1
Sago	20	0
Salep	2	0
Epsom salts	25	0
Spermaceti	2	0
Comp. sp. of lavender	2	0
Spirit of vitriol	1	0
Yellow basilicon	10	0
Turner's cerate	8	0
Gum arabic	2	0
Scotch barley	30	0
Corrosive sublimate	0	4
Opodeldoc	4	0
Powder of tin	3	0
Filings of iron	12	0
Magnesia	3	0
Gum plaster	2	0
Strengthening plaster	2	0
James's powder	12 pap.	
Tow	6	0
Lint	2	0

Instruments and Utensils.

Two pair of small apothecaries' scales
One pair of larger ditto, with weights to one pound
Two spatulas, two bolus knives
One pewter pint measure, one half-pint ditto
One ditto four ounces, two ditto one ounce
Two small funnels for phials, one larger ditto
One large tin ditto
Four pewter bed-pans
Three large pewter clyster syringes, 3 small ditto for ears
Twelve dozen phials of different sorts
Twelve dozen gallipots of all sorts
One small hand metal mortar, one larger ditto
One bolus marble
One small marble mortar, one larger ditto
Two small glass ditto
Two scalpels, one probe, one pair of forceps
One gum lancet
Two tooth instruments with different claws
Six lancets

* The drugs are to be renewed, so as to be made up to the above quantities once every year. If the gang of negroes be more than three hundred, the quantities must be increased accordingly.

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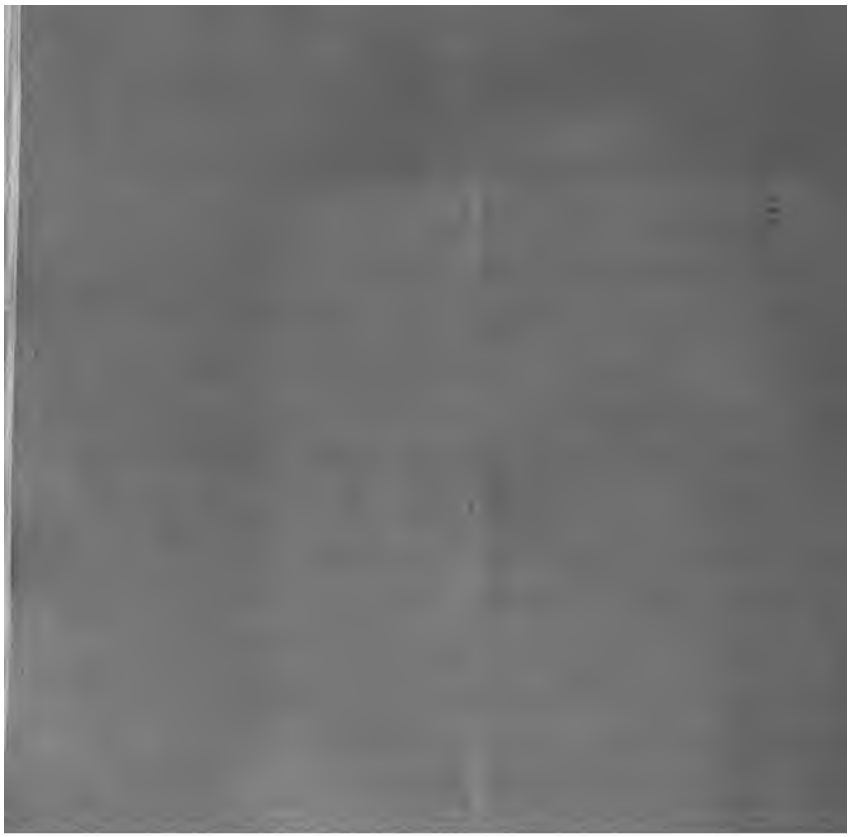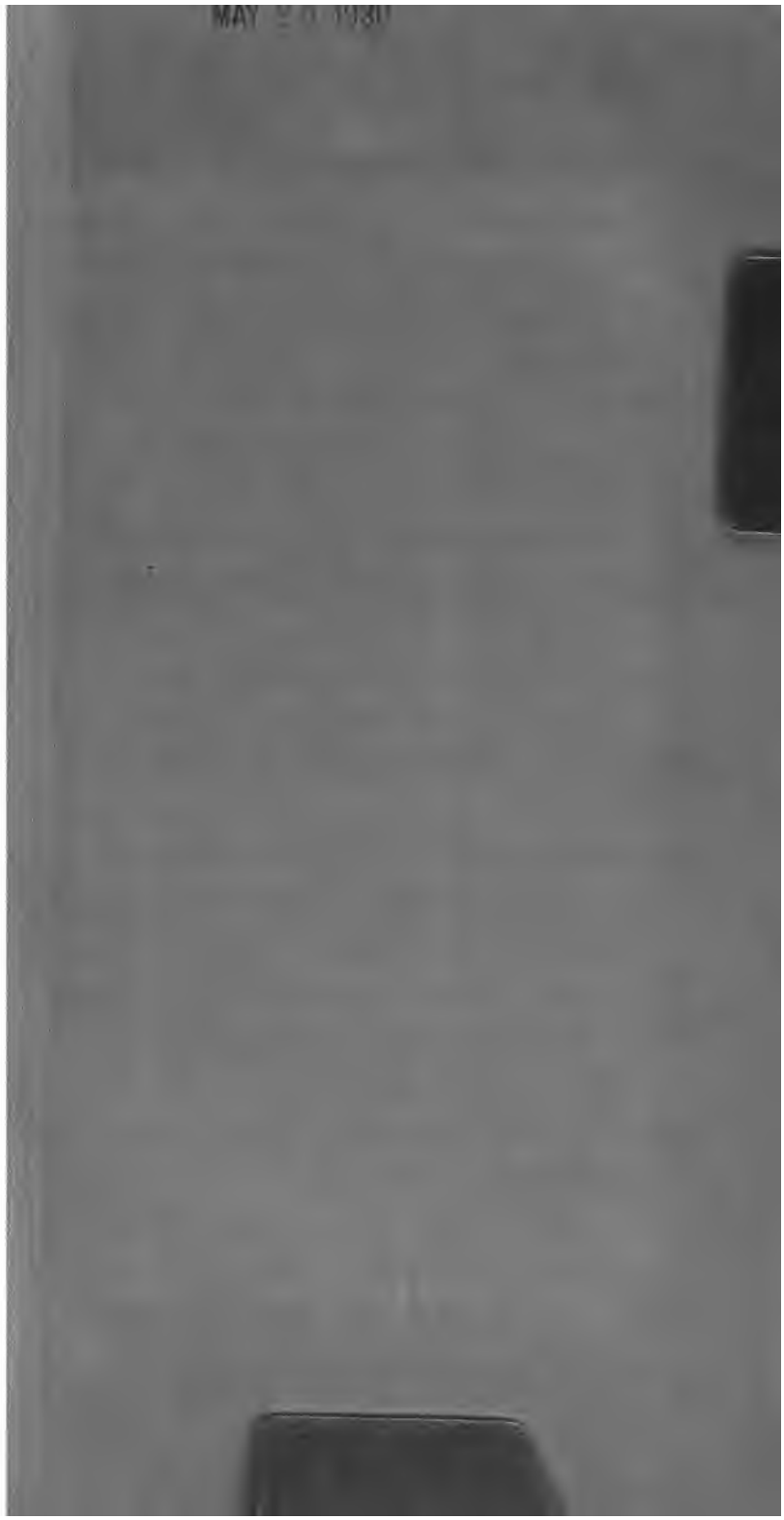
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